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THE HISTORY OF IRELAND

TO THE COMING OF HENRY II.

THE

HISTORY OF IRELAND

TO THE COMING OF HENRY II.

BY

ARTHUR UA CLERIGH, M.A., K.C.

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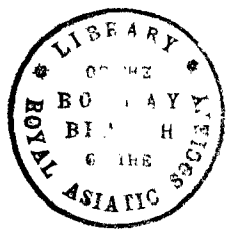
VOL. I.



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PREFACE.

THIS volume is the fruit of many years' labour. I have to the best of my ability made every point the subject of independent inquiry and written it in great part *ex messibus meis*. I have not worked in the expectation of literary fame or pecuniary profit, but because I had been convinced from early manhood that no greater service could be done to the Irish race at home and abroad than to tell them the naked truth as far as it can be ascertained about their early history. This will, no doubt, dispel many illusions which they will be loath to part with; but on the other hand, unless I greatly deceive myself, it will convey lessons of high political import which they may take hopefully to heart. The early history of Ireland is a story of arrested evolution.

ARTHUR UA CLERIGH.

CONTENTS.

Chap.		Page
I.	Before the Coming of the Gael	1
II.	What Our Texts Say	14
III.	The Coming of the Gael	39
IV.	The Gael	49
V.	Déirdre	61
VI.	Cuchulainn	72
VII.	Finn mac Cumhail	87
VIII.	Glastonbury of the Gael	107
IX.	The Coming of St. Patrick—I.	131
X.	The Coming of St. Patrick—II.	148
XI.	The Patrician Documents	164
XII.	The Religion of the Gael Before St. Patrick—I.	185
XIII.	The Religion of the Gael Before St. Patrick—II.	200
XIV.	The Senchus Mor and the Tribal System ...	212
XV.	The Tribal Occupier and Sir John Davis ...	236
XVI.	The Lia Fail—The Stone of Destiny ...	246
XVII.	Cuildreimhne and the Desertion of Tara ...	257
XVIII.	The Northmen	267
XIX.	A Winter Circuit	279
XX.	Brian Boru	290
XXI.	Clontarf	303
XXII.	The Organisation of the Church	314
XXIII.	The Monks	330
XXIV.	The Teaching of the Nations	345
XXV.	The Sect of the Scots	363
XXVI.	The Emerald Ring	380
XXVII.	The Cymro-Frankish Adventurers	395

THE PRONUNCIATION OF GAELIC.

In the Gaelic alphabet there are 18 letters.

5 *Vowels*—a, o, u, broad, e, i, slender.

Each vowel may be long or short: long as in Hālf pāy hē thōūght sō pōōr; short as in Thăt bĕll ĭs nŏt mŭch gŏŏd.

Vowel Groups. ᴀe and ᴀo = āē; eō long = yo; eo short = yŭ; ıú long = ew; ıu short = yŭ.

ᴀ́ı, é ı, ó ı, ᴀ́e, é ᴀ, eᴀ́, ıᴀ. The sound of the long vowel is given to the whole digraph.

The addition of ı, *e.g.*, ᴀ́ı, does not change the vowel sound.

Short Digraphs. ᴀı and eᴀ short = a in bat. eı or oı = e in let. ıo and uı = i in hit.

The consonants are 12; liquids, 4, ʟ, ɴ, ṛ (r), ṛ (s); mutes, 9, ḃ, c, ḋ, ḟ, ġ, m, ṗ, ṫ, and ṅ.

Aspiration or infection is a softening of a consonant, and is indicated by a *punctum* over the Gaelic letter or by the addition of the letter ṅ.

ḃ or ḃṅ = v; ċ or cṅ in the middle or end of words sometimes = h; ḋ, ḋṅ and ṁ, mṅ alike = before a broad vowel, [a, o, u], an indescribable sound like a guttural y and equal, before a slender vowel, [e, i], y exactly. *In the middle and end of words they are silent, but lengthen the preceding vowel, e.g.,* Tıġeṛnᴀ, *Tigherna = Teerna.* ṁ, mṅ = v in the south and w in the north; ᴀḋ and ᴀṁ = ou; ᴀḋ = ei in the middle of a word; ṗ, ṗṅ = f; ṛ, ṛṅ = h; ṫ, ṫṅ = h.

Eclipsis (ἔκθλιψις, pushing away). A softer consonant is substituted for a harder at the beginning of a word only. Both are written, but only the first, that is, the substituted one, pronounced, *e.g.*, m-bo, the b in bo, a cow, is pushed away and replaced by m, and m-bo is pronounced mo. And so with others, n eclipses d and g; bh, f; b, p; g, c; d, t; t, r.

The above short sketch is, of course, very imperfect, and only intended to assist readers who are unacquainted with Gaelic.

EARLY IRISH HISTORY.

CHAPTER I.

BEFORE THE COMING OF THE GAEL.

THE name Erin[1] comes from a root which signifies fat, fruitful, with special reference, it may be supposed, to the fertility of its pastures. Pomponius Mela[2] (fl. 40 A.D.) says:—"The climate is unfavourable for ripening cereals, but the land is so exuberant in the production of pasture, not only luxuriant but also sweet, that cattle can fill themselves in a short part of a day, and unless they are stopped from grazing will feed too long and burst." So Solinus[3] (230 A.D.) says:—"It is so rich in grass that the cattle would be in danger from over-eating unless they were kept at times from the pasture." "Ireland," says Bede[4] (673-735), "is situated to the west of Britain, and as it is shorter towards the north, so it extends far beyond its borders to the south. . . . The latitude of its position and the wholesomeness and mildness of the air are much better than Britain's, so that snow rarely remains there for more than three days, and no one mows hay there in summer for winter use, or makes houses for the cattle. No reptile is seen there, no reptile can live there. . . . The island is rich in milk and honey, and is not without vines. It

[1] According to Windisch the name Erin gen Erenn dat Erin Acc Erenn comes from a root which is found in πι[F]ων, feminine πίειρα, signifying fat, fruitful, and the Indo-germanic nominal suffix—*ien*. The initial "p" was not retained by the early Celtic nations before a vowel, and the νῆσος πίειρα of the Greeks would be represented by Erenn or Erin. The Greek name for the island, however, ιε. Ἰερνη, *ἰουέρνη*, was taken from the Gaelic Erenn, and gave rise in its turn to the Latin Juberna and Hibernia. See Holder *Sprach-schatz*. Iverio.

[2] Pomponius Mela, 3, 6, 53.

[3] Solinus, 22, 2.

[4] Hibernia autem et latitudine sui status et salubritate et serenitate aerum multum Brittaniæ praestat. Bede, H.E. 1. *Latitudo* is always, so far as I have seen, translated "breadth" here erroneously. Erin is not broader. It means breadth from the equator. The Anglo-Saxon translator of Bede has braedo haes stealles where braedo is equal to the German "Breite," *i.e.*, latitude. Cæsar, Tacitus, and all the mediæval writers following them, down to and including Keating, held that Ireland lay between Britain and Spain. Ptolemy, getting his information from a Phœnician source, placed it nearly in its true position.

is famous for sport, fish, and fowl, and also goats and deer. It is the own country of the Scots." It is a mistake to suppose that Ireland is not also admirably fitted for the production of corn, a mistake into which modern writers, such as Kiepert, have also fallen. Taking wheat, oats, and barley, the average number of bushels to the acre is at least as high as in England, and the loss from bad seasons over a period of 25 years is not greater than in Russia or America.[5]

Something must be said, though very little is known, about the ancient inhabitants of Erin before the coming of the Gael (1700 B.C.) Though the men of the old stone age (paleolithic) made their way into England, there is no evidence that they ever reached Erin. This is the more remarkable, as in those days England was joined to the Continent, and Ireland to England, by what we may shortly describe as land bridges. A shallow bank now runs from Denmark to the Bay of Biscay, and to a point about five miles westward of Ireland within what is known as the 100 fathom limit. The elevation of this bank made these bridges. Many of the pleistocene animals passed over the bridge from the Continent into England, including paleolithic man, whose implements are found abundantly as far west as North and South Wales. A human paleolithic molar tooth has been discovered at Port Newydd, near St. Asaph. These paleolithic animals, with the exception of the hyena, and the great sabre-toothed bear, passed over from England into Ireland. Paleolithic man did not reach Erin. The depth of the Irish Sea is somewhat greater than the depth of the German Ocean, and it may have happened that the English bridge remained above water after the Irish bridge had descended and become a sea bottom. Many great animals, however, passed over. Amongst others the mammoth, the hippopotamus (probably), the grizzly bear, the brown bear, the reindeer, the great Irish deer, the red deer, the wild boar, the wolf, the horse, the fox, and the badger. These have left their bones in caves or under peat bogs to record their presence in prehistoric times.

[5] Documents in connection with the shipment of corn from Ireland to France in the years 1297-8 A.D. may be seen in fac-simile MS. Plate 83, Gilbert, Sir J. The value of the corn exported from Ireland in ten years, 1785-1795, when separate accounts were kept of the Kingdoms of England and Ireland, was £4,256,360. "A country which now begins to supply Britain with near one million barrels of grain annually." Newenham, p. 216 (1809).

To the men of the old stone age succeeded the men of the new stone age (neolithic) whether immediately or after an interval, or at what time or times cannot be stated with certainty, but the opinion generally received now is that there was no break, but continuous evolution. From these came the first inhabitants of Erin. It is therefore of high importance to know what were the physical characteristics of the inhabitants of Western Continental Europe in neolithic times, and particularly to ascertain whether they were long-skulled or broad-skulled, dark or fair; these being now generally recognized as the most permanent characteristics, and the best test of race. The North of Western Europe was inhabited by men with long heads, light or blue eyes, and fair or reddish hair. From this stock came the Gael, as we shall show later on. The South was inhabited by men short in stature, with long heads, dark hair, and dark eyes. These are divided by M. D'Arbois into a pre-Ayran (Iberian) and an Ayran (Ligurian) race. The centre of France and westward through Brittany to the sea, was inhabited by an intrusive belt of men from the east, short in stature, with broad skulls, dark hair, and dark eyes, whom Cæsar refers to as Celts, and who are sometimes called the Black Celts. It may be affirmed unhesitatingly that no off-shoot from this stock ever came to Erin. There are no men of this type except ethnic strays to be found amongst the population of Ireland in our times. Nor is it difficult to understand how this came about. A glance at a map of Europe will show that the men of this central belt in France were likely to cross the channel into England, and, no doubt, they did so; and are in all likelihood the men who, whether pure or blended with long heads, have left their broad skulls in the round barrows of England. An island is colonized, as a rule, from Continental parts directly opposite to it. But where one island lies behind another it is more reasonable to suppose that migratory tribes would pass round the nearer island from Continental parts above and below the nearer island to reach that which was more remote. The first inhabitants of Erin came from one or both of the dark long-headed southern races. These passed round the south of England, and are now represented by the southern Welsh and the short dark population in the west and south-west of

Ireland. In England they combined probably with the long heads of the long barrows. From these two races the main bulk of the population of Erin was derived before the coming of the Gael. They correspond with the first four "occupations," or "settlements," ꜿaϑala, of our texts.

The fifth "occupation" was by the Gael or Milesians. They were tall men, with long skulls and red, golden-yellow, or flaxen hair. They came from the Netherlands, the Elbe, Sleswick and Holstein, and the recesses of the Baltic coast. Our texts agree in stating that the Gael as well as the previous occupants all spoke the Celtic tongue, and they are supported in this by the circumstance that no place names of a different language have been detected. It is for this reason that the Irish came to be commonly referred to as Celts. But language is no test of race, though linguistic evidence is of high importance when soberly used for historic purposes. In the time of Cæsar, the inhabitants of central France and the Belgic district of Celtic Gaul spoke a Celtic tongue, and the Celtic tongue at one time extended far east beyond the Rhine. Possibly the intrusive Celts, as the result of conquest and commerce, gradually communicated their language to their neighbours on the north and the south, and in this way the Iberi and the Ligures came to adopt the Celtic language. Cæsar tells us the Gauls brought their names to Britain:—The Belgæ in the south-east, the Parisii on the Humber, the Atrebates in Berks. With the immigrants from the northern race the same thing occurred. In the second chapter of his Geography, in which he deals with the British Isles, Ptolemy (140 A.D.) mentions the Brigantes in the south of Ierne, and the Chauci, the Menapii and the Eblani on the coast.[6]

Evidence of a similar kind is not wanting for an earlier period. The most important of the pre-Gaelic "occupations" (ꜿaϑala) was the immigration of the Fir-Volcæ, commonly called Fir-bolgs, a sub-denomination of which was the great tribe of the Cat or Cathraige, of which Cairbre Cinnceat became the head, as we shall see later on. The word Bolg

[6] Dublin does not, as some have thought, represent the Eblani or their capital. The words do not equate phonetically. Dublin was founded by the Danes near the black pool of the Liffey (Dub Linn), from which it derives its name. The Eblani were probably the Elbani immigrants from the river Albis or Elbe.

equates phonetically with Volc, Latinised Volcæ. These Volcæ were a powerful people in the South of France in Cæsar's time, occupying the country comprised between the Rhone, the Cevennes and the Garonne. An outlying remnant of the race then dwelt at the source of the Danube, on the borders of the Hercynian Forest. At an earlier period, it is supposed, they occupied a large part of Central Europe, and thus the two cities of "Lug" Lyons (Lug. dunum) and Leyden (Lug. dunum Batavorum) belonged to them. They were cut in two and displaced by the intrusive wedge of the ethnic Celts we have referred to. There was also another Lug-dunum (Convenarum), now St. Bertrand de Comminges (Haute Garonne), Lug-dunum Remorum (Laon) and others. Now in modern Irish "Lugnasad" means the month of August. In that month was celebrated the commemoration (nasad) or anniversary of Lug at Tailtinn, now Teltown, in Meath. According to our texts Lug was the foster son of Tailtin, the wife of the Firbolg King Eocaid, the son of Erc. He appears in the legend as Lug of the long hand, and is said to have instituted this celebration in honour of Tailtiu, from whom Tailtinn is named. The "nasad" or commemoration, however, was not of Tailtiu, but of Lug[7] himself, and M. D'Arbois is of opinion that there was a similar "nasad" of Lug at Lyons, which preceded the establishment of the Feast of Augustus. The latter was celebrated on the 1st of August, and was, M. D'Arbois[8] thinks, substituted for the Feast of Lug. The fair of Tailtinn, altered from time to time in its character, continued to be held on the 1st of August in every year until the commencement of the last century. As regards the Cathraige, in the time of Cæsar they dwelt in the valleys of the Durance and Isère, near Embrun, and Chorges, in which latter the old name "Caturiges" is preserved. The terminals *rix*, *raighe*, mean simply "tribesman" not "king."

In the "Coir Anmam" traighe is glossed cineal, *i.e.* tribes. Cath, or "cat," means "battle," and there are at Chorges two inscriptions, "Cat" and "Cathreg," still retaining vestiges of

[7] Assemblées Publiques d'Irlande.

[8] M. D'Arbois compares the statement of Cæsar as regards Mercury, the Roman equivalent of Lug :—Hunc (*i.e.*, Mercury or Lug.) omnium inventorum artium ferunt, with the Samh-il-danach—*συμπολύτεχνος* "Master of all arts." Lugus was the god of light, the Sun god.

the old name. In Erin the "Cath" tribes are found from the barony of Cary (Cathraige), in Antrim, to Iniscathy (Inis Scattery), in the estuary of the Shannon. McFirbis reckons them amongst the Firbolgs. He mentions ths Cathraige of the Cruithne, from whom Cairbre Cinnceat was descended, and the Cathraige of the Suck amongst others. The "Ait na Mipeann" (the Stone of Division), which was regarded as the centre of Ireland, and is, in fact, only a few miles distant from it, was also called the Carraig Coitrighe in the Book of Armagh.

In Scotland there was from the earliest times a powerful people who occupied Caithness, in which the name is, probably, preserved, and Sutherland and the Western islands, which were called Inri Cat. They were called "Cait," and described in the legend as descended from Cait, one of the sons of Cruithne. They are, probably the Attacoti, *i.e.*, Tuatha Cat mentioned by Ammianus Marcellinus three or four times in connection with the Scoti, but distinct from them. Thus he says (27.8.5): "The Picts, the Saxons, the Scoti, and Attacoti, harrassed the Britons with perpetual harryings."

And again:—"The Picts, divided into two tribes (gentes) the Dicalydones and Vertureones, also the Attacoti, a warlike tribe of men (*bellicosa hominum natio*) and the Scoti, wandered far and wide (*i.e.*, through Britain), and laid waste many parts." These are, no doubt, also the Attacoti referred to by St. Jerome (342-420) in the famous passage we are about to cite. He refers to a sojourn he made at Treves, in Gaul. Treves, where the Emperor Valentinian I. was then residing, is placed by Ausonius as fourth in his list of noble cities. It was on the right bank of the Moselle, the capital of that division of Gaul, and the regular imperial residence: "When I was a young man," he writes, "I saw the Atticoti, a British tribe [who were said to] eat human flesh, and though they would find in the woods herds of swine and cattle, to be used, to cut off the buttocks of men and the buttocks and paps of women, and to consider these the only tit bits."[9]

[9] Cum ipse adolescentulus viderim Atticottos, gentem Britannicam [qui dicebantur] humanis vesci carnibus; et cum per silvas porcorum greges et armentorum pecudumque reperiant, pastorum nates et feminarum et papillas solere abscindere et has solas ciborum delicias arbitrari. Hieronymus v. Jovinianum (2.7.)

The words in brackets "who were said to—*qui dicebantur*" do not appear in any MS. It may have been the omission of the writer himself or of a scribe to whom he dictated. Jerome refers to the time he was at Treves, where some Attacoti in the Roman Army were stationed. That he meant to say he saw them slicing men and women in the way he mentions openly in the woods near Treves is not to be thought of. Besides, "viderim *solere* abscindere" is neither sense nor Latin. The context of the rest of the passage, too long to be given here, shows that he was dealing with matters of hearsay. And this was, no doubt, one of the stories circulated by the polished provincials of Augusta Trevirorum about the habits and practices of the wild barbarians from Caledonia when on their native heath. In the alternative we should conclude that the statement was a hallucination of the desert.

It is not possible to assign a date to the commencement of the neolithic or polished stone age. Lyall thinks it may have lasted 10,000 years. It was succeeded in some places by a copper age for a brief period, and then by the bronze age, the commencement of which is fixed by Montelius for Scandinavia at 1450 B.C. If we suppose it arrived somewhat earlier in Erin it will bring us to 1700 B.C., the date assigned by the Four Masters for the coming of Golamh (the soldier) and the Gael. It was during the neolithic time that the "Dolmens" were built in Erin. The word "Dolmen" is derived from the Breton "dol" (supposed to be a loan word from the Latin "tabula," a table), and "maen," a stone. In its inception it was a deadhouse of peculiar construction, built *overground*, an imitation of a cave. Neolithic man in early times, living in a cave himself, provided a similar abode for the departed. In the case of paleolithic man a few traces only of burial by inhumation have yet been discovered. In the neolithic age we may suppose a time when the bones of the dead were collected after the flesh had been removed by beasts or birds, or the action of the weather. We find a survival of this practice at the present day in the custom of the Parsees. Their sacred book, the Ahura Masdi, however, allowed them the option of either inhuming or exposing the dead, and a few of the Parsees in Bombay exercise this option of inhuming at the present day. Inhumation, decarnation, mummification, burial

in various postures, &c., were practised in various places, and finally, *incineration*. Many of these modes were practised in Erin. We need only refer particularly to incineration. It is supposed to have come with the Ethnic Celts from the East. Pothier[10] has given maps showing the route from the Pamirs to Brittany. From the mountains of Central France these Celts sent offshoots to the Pyrenees on the south and Danemark on the north. Burials by incineration are placed over the earlier forms or found cotemporaneous in the same tomb in France and elsewhere.

And the same probably occurred in the case of Erin, where incineration was extensively practised cotemporaneously with other modes of burial. In the Carrowmore group, near Sligo, the most remarkable in Erin, where possibly the victors at the second Moytura battle and their descendants found a resting place, the graves reveal, in most cases where any remains are found, the presence of calcined bones or urns, or other proofs of burial by incineration. There are no round barrows indicating the presence of round heads in Erin. It is certain that these round heads occupied the valleys of the Loire and the Seine until they were driven back into the mountain lands by the invasion of the fair-haired, blue-eyed long heads from the North, of which stock were the Gael, who practised inhumation. It has been observed that incineration brought with it a more spiritual conception regarding the future life. Instead of the ghoul-like existence which the departed were supposed to lead, enduring a shadow life as strengthless skulls in the deadhouse of the dolmen builder, the spirit was supposed to pass from the prison-house of earthly corruption, purified by fire, into the fairy land within the elfmound (sidh), or the mountain, into spacious palaces glittering with gold and gems. And this is the existence into which the tribes of the Dedanann passed according to our legends after their defeat and destruction by the Gael.

The construction of the dolmens showed much variety and development, the details of which will be found in Mr. Borlase's monumental work. The earliest form appears to have been what was known as a cromlech—one large unhewn stone placed

[10] Pothier E. Les Populatius primitives, 1897.

on two or more unhewn upright stones forming a sort of cave with a narrow entrance. This covering stone was often of immense size. The covering stone of the dolmen or cromlech at Mount Brown (Carlow) weighs by estimation 100 tons, that at Carriglass (Sligo) 73 tons, and the stone at Howth (Dublin) 70 tons. Men are puzzled to account for how with primitive appliances such cap-stones could be moved into position. Mortillet divides this form into two parts; the cave portion he calls an "allée couverte," the entrance portion a "vestibule." The entrance in the next form appears elongated, and several roofing stones were used with a slope upwards over the cave proper. This was the form of Dolmen, commonly called the "Giant's Grave." In France Mortillet terms them "caveaux"[11] (vaults or cells) with long entrance passages (couloirs d'accès). The entrance and passages to both these classes were open or capable of being opened, though sometimes only two or three feet high, and the cave could be reached through them. There was a third form that had no entrance or passage into it—the Cist. It was a large rectangular space lined with unhewn upright stones and roofed with several unhewn stones flagwise, placed within a mound or cairn of stones. Mortillet calls these "caisses."

For the student of the early developments of dolmen building and the accompanying cultus of the dead there is no country so rich in interest as France. Mortillet adduces evidence "that no fewer than twenty-four natural caves have been discovered in France which had served the purpose of sepulchral vaults to a population living in the neolithic age." He adds that "the accompaniments of the dead as well as certain indications bearing on the nature of the rites performed at the sepulchre were identical with what was found in connection with the dolmens, so that the latter may be supposed to have taken the place of the natural caves." France has the highest claims to be considered the place of origin of the dolmen, at least for Western Europe. The three types are well represented, the first in Central France, the valley of the Loire and Seine, the second in Brittany, the third in Logere, Aveyron, Ardeche, and Lozere. Dolmens are rare in the East and North of France. All three types are represented in

[11] See Borlase, "The Dolmens of Ireland," ii., p. 567, 1897.

Ireland; the first in long, large dolmens like that at Labbacallee in Cork, the second by the great tumulus at New Grange, in Meath, in which is to be found an architectural amplification as regards the roof not present in Brittany; the "caisses" of the third type are comparable to the dolmens in Clare. In Ireland there is also another type—the dolmen cairn or dolmen circle to be seen at Carrowmore and elsewhere, and also on the coast of Cornwall where the dolmens are identical in type with those of Ireland. Dolmens of these types are widely spread over the globe, but are not to be found everywhere, as is sometimes supposed. Their distribution is curious. From France they pass into Spain, Morocco, Algiers, Tunis, the Caucasus, Palestine, the North of Persia, and India. They are not found on the Mediterranean east of Corsica, nor in Tripoli, Egypt, Asia Minor, Greece, Italy, or the valley of the Danube. Borlase[12] reckons a total of 780 dolmens for Ireland, the distribution of which is very remarkable. On the East coast there are only 77, of which Wexford counts for 2, Wicklow 9, Dublin 14, Louth 4, Down 19, and Antrim 29. On the West coast there are 436, of which Kerry counts for 22, Clare for 94, Galway for 30, Mayo 45, Sligo 163, and Donegal for 82, showing thus a remarkable preponderance of dolmens on the West coast. Besides the dolmens Borlase reckons 50 chambered tumuli differing from the dolmens *constructively* in the circumstance that the roof is not formed by a single slab but by successive layers of slabs approaching each other as they rise—what is commonly known as the beehive construction. Thirty of these chambers are found in Meath, such as New Grange and Dowth. Their structural details prove them to be connected with the dolmens proper, presumably in relation to an identical cultus of the dead.

Borlase further observes that "the occurrence of dolmens in Cornwall and the West of Wales, coupled with the fact of their absence in North England, and their great scarcity in Scotland, whilst the coasts of Ireland possess them in plenty, all tend to give plausibility to a theory that the route by which those who erected them arrived was from the South, either down the English Channel or up the western coast of Europe, and so

[12] Borlase Dolmens, ii., 418, 567.

round the Land's End, and up St. George's Channel, and around the entire coast of Ireland, which island they specially made their own."

There are cup-markings and sculpturings on the stones of many of these dolmens, all the world over, which probably had some religious motives underlying them. In Ireland the principal sculpturings are found at the cairns and tumuli which extend along the hills of Slieve na Caillighe, for some three miles from East to West north of Loughcrew in Meath. Sculptured stones are also found at Clover Hill, near Carrowmore, in Sligo, at New Grange, Rathkenny, Castle Archdale, etc. The general character of the sculpturings or markings are cup-shaped hollows, and irregularly, circular, spiral, zigzag and wavy lines, and these lines are far more elaborate and complicated at Loughcrew and Newgrange than elsewhere. Art travelled from the coast to the centre of the island, making progress on the way from Carrowmore to Slieve na Caillighe. The position of the latter is central. From it (904 ft.) can be seen the hills of Cuailgne, near Carlingford Lough, on the east coast, and the hills near Sligo on the west. M. Emile Soldi in "La Langue Sacrée le Mystére de la Creation," has attempted to solve the mysteries that lie behind these cryptic symbols which are more widely spread over the world than even the dolmens. His book is very interesting and attractive, but it is for others better equipped than the author of this work to sit in judgment on it. To him it appears rather suggestive than persuasive. The Sun, according to the Sacred Language, is the principal manifestation of the soul of the world—Fire the creator. It consists of a soul or essence-fire from which proceed all fires, all essences, and all souls; and also of a body or envelope, the luminous ether, from which proceed all bodies and all lights. Every created thing is in like manner composed of a soul or essence and of a body or envelope.

The circle, with the central point representing the solar disc; the circle in relief, or cup-shaped; the spiral, the zig-zag, the wavy forms [representing the germs of life emanating from the sun] M. Soldi regards as cosmic signs representing the movements of the ether and its different manifestations, expressing ideas as to the creation of all things, as to life, death, and resurrection, and other mysteries. These signs or

figurations (cosmoglyphic) were the first writing of Egypt, and were superseded by the phonetic system. They "are to be found everywhere, with the same significations amongst all peoples, rendered by the same images with forms so special, singular, and conventional that no one can object that they are due to chance or the natural sameness of the expressions of the human brain."[13] If M. Soldi was called on to explain the sculpturings or scorings at Cloverhill, Sligo, near Carrowmore, he would probably say that the large circle with the central point represented the sun, the two smaller circles emanations, points of fire and life from the sun, the horizontal lines the direction of the movement, and the goat or ram's horns the conducting energies which were to convey the vital sparks to the dead and clothe the bones with flesh and life. The whole was, in substance, a prayer for resurrection written in "cosmoglyphic" language.[14]

Without taking into consideration the chambered tumuli, formed with courses of masonry overlapping inwards in beehive fashion, which stand on debatable ground and seem to be the product of neolithic construction, the evidence of the dolmens and the sculpturings is persuasive to prove that in neolithic times Ireland was not an unknown and isolated island, but was in the full current of the progress of the time and in advance of any part of Europe standing within the same parallels of latitude. The men who built the dolmens in Sligo, and probably many more that have perished without leaving any trace behind, must have been a numerous, wealthy tribe, with religion and laws and social order in process of evolution. This, we venture to submit, was mainly due to the fact that there was direct intercourse between the south-west of France oversea with Ireland, along the route of the Dolmen builders. Erin was not isolated or wholly divided from the rest of the world in neolithic times. The dolmens and the sculpturings alone are sufficient to prove that the island was well in touch with such progress as had then been made, and

[13] Soldi Emile, "La Langue Sacrée le Mystére de la Creation." Paris, 1897, p. 88, *et seq.*

[14] These sculpturings are reproduced from drawings by Mr. Wakeman in "The Dolmens," vol. i., p. 141, and are simpler than those at Loughcrew. According to M. Soldi, the "cosmoglyphic" language may be expressed also by the arrangement of precious stones, arms, etc., in the tombs.

was, in fact, ahead of any region situated on the same parallel of latitude in Western Europe. The population must have of necessity been small, judged by a later standard.

The land was covered with forests. Erin was called the "island of woods." But this was also the case with Britain and Central Europe. A vast forest extended in Cæsar's time from the source of the Danube to the Carpathian mountains, and great forests, the remains of greater forests, extended from the Rhine to the Atlantic ocean.

CHAPTER II.

What Our Texts Say.

"A MIXTURE of a lie" (saith Bacon), "doth ever add pleasure." A popular historian should make his story as pleasant reading as fiction. Let us be gentle, therefore, in our criticism of the "File," whose duty it was "to put a thread of poetry" around the tales and traditions that came down from a remote past. The first persons who landed in Erin were three fishermen from Spain, who were driven by adverse winds into the mouth of the river Moy, near what is now the town of Ballina. They were drowned in the universal deluge.

Forty days before the deluge, Ceasair, the daughter of Bith, and grand-daughter of Noah, landed at Dun-na-mBarc, in Kerry, on Saturday, the 15th day of the moon.

This is what brought her to Erin. Bith, her father, sent a messenger to Noah, to ask whether he himself and his daughter, Ceasair, would get a place in the Ark, to save them from the flood. Noah said that they would not get it. Fintan asked the same, and Noah said he would not get a place. Bith, Fintan, Ladhra, and the maiden Ceasair, go into council afterwards. "Let my advice be done by you," said Ceasair. "It shall be done," say they. "Well, then," said she, "take a hand-made god, *i.e.*, an idol, and make adoration to him, and abandon this God of Noah." After that they brought with them a hand-made god, and he said to them to make a ship, and go on the sea; however, it was not known to him what time would come the flood. A ship was made by them afterwards, and they went on the sea. It is the number that went with them—three men: namely, Bith, Fintan, and Ladhra; also three women, Ceasair and two others, and fifty maidens with them.[1]

This Fintan was afterwards a celebrated personage, Fintan, "the salmon of knowledge." He was turned into a

[1] See introduction to "Book of Leinster," and the following texts and translations, "Fintan's Poem:" Oss. Soc., v. 244, Giolla Caomghin's Annalad Anall uile; Trip. Life, 530, Erin Ard, Inis na rig; Todd Lec. III., 142; Ogygia III., 2.

salmon when the flood came, and some said he was resuscitated after the flood and lived to the time of St. Patrick. It was a common saying amongst the people to a late period, "If I had lived Fintan's years I could say much." What occurred before the flood, in which all perished who were not in the Ark, might have been written on a stone, or communicated by Fintan. The view, however, that was most strongly held, and which found favour with Keating, was that the facts were in after-time revealed to a favoured mortal by his Fairy Lover (Leanánsídhe).

One hundred and twenty years after the flood Adhna came to Erin and took from it with him the full of his hand of the grass. His occupation was not considered effective by Senachies, and is not counted a "gabáltus." Two and seventy-eight years after the flood (2680 B.C.) Partholan, fleeing for the murder of his father and his mother,[2] landed at Inver Sceine (Kenmare Bay), pushed up the west coast to Inis Saimer (Fish Island) near the mouth of the Erne, and finally settled at Magh Elta, the plain from Howth to Tallaght, three miles south of Dublin. According to the Psalter of Cashel, as Keating tells us, Partholan started from Greig Mheadhonaegh, which seems to be Maeonia. It is the way he went through the Toirrian Sea to Sicily with the right hand to Spain and thence to Erin. The context shows that the Toirrian Sea cannot be the Tyrrhene Sea. It may be intended to indicate the sea west of Tyre. With Partholan came his wife Dealgnaid, their three sons, and 1,000 followers. They defeated the Fomorians, 800 in number, in a battle near Lough Swilly. The Fomorians were all killed. This was the first battle that was fought in Erin. After the Muintir Partholain (Partholan's people) had passed 300 years in Erin they were all carried off by the plague in one week—5,000 men and 4,000 women. This plague stroke (tamhlecht) is commemorated in the name Tallaght at the present day."[3]

The first jealousy, as it is called, of Erin also occurred in Partholan's time, and must not be passed over. We shall give

[2] It is remarkable that Partholan, first King of Ireland, and Brutus, first King of Britain, are both abhorred for having killed both father and mother.—Todd.

[3] *Tallaght* is however usually derived from tamh, plague, and teacht, grave.

it abbreviated in the words of Keating. During the absence of Partholan, Dealgnaid received the attentions of her groom of the chamber, Todga (ꞃe na ꝫiolla ꝼéin), and when Partholan reproached her, it was not an apology she made, but she said that it was more just the blame of that ill deed to be on himself than on herself, and she spoke the verse—

> Honey with a woman leave, new milk with a child,
> Food with a generous man, flesh with a cat;
> A workman and his tools together;
> One with the other it is great danger.

Erin was then waste for thirty years after the plague stroke (Taiṁṙleact) of Partholan's folk till Nemed came to inhabit it. The track which he journeyed in coming to Erin from Scythia was on the narrow sea which is coming from the ocean that is called Mare Euxinum. He gave his right hand to the Riffacan mountains till he came into the Northern Ocean, and his left hand to Europe till he came into Erin.[4] Thirty-four ships was the number of his fleet and thirty persons in each ship of them. The occupation of the race of Nemed lasted for 217 years, until the arrival of the Fir-mbolgs (Firvolce). From the very first, however, the possession of Nemed was contested by the Fomorians, who were also, as we have seen, adversaries of the first race. Nemed was at first victorious; he won three battles. The third appears to have been a Pyrrhic victory. In it was made a "red slaughter" of the men of Erin under Arthur,[5] the son of Nemed, and Jobcan, the son of Starn, his grandson, as the old poem certifies—

> "The Battle of Cnamhross, which was tremendous,
> It is greatly in it flesh was hacked,
> Arthur and Jobcan fell in it,
> Although in it Ganu (*i.e.*, the Fomorian) was defeated."

After this Nemed died of the plague, with 2,000 of his folk, in Oilean Arda Neimed (the Island of Nemed's Height)

[4] There were two routes from the East in primitive times—one north of the Caspian, the other more southerly, over the Crimean Bosphorus between the Euxine and the Sea of Azof, which is the route here indicated. This route then passed up the valley of the Danube, with the Carpathian—*i.e.*, the Riffacan mountains (semble) on the right hand.

[5] This is the first time the name Arthur occurs in story. The Cornish prince was probably a Gael. The name occurs often in the Scotch Gaelic pedigrees. This reference has escaped Zimmer who does not mention this text in his article on the name Arthur. He has collected the earliest examples known to him in his article on Nennius, p. 284.

now the Great Island, in Cork Harbour. After this disaster the Nemedians were unable to cope with their foes. These Fomorians, we are told, were sea rovers, robbers on the high seas (ꝼo-ṁuiꞃiḋ), and came from Africa. They seized what is now Tory Island, off the N.W. coast of Donegal, on which they built a stronghold known as Conaing's Toꞃ, hence the name Tor-inis. From this they enforced tribute from the race of Nemed. The amount of the tribute was two-thirds of the children, of the corn, and of the milk of the men of Erin to be given to them every year on the eve of Saṁain (Hallowe'en) to Magh-g-Ceidne, between the Drobhaois and the Erne. Rage and anger seized the men of Erin, and they rose up and mustered their forces to attack their oppressors. The island, which is nearly three miles long and very narrow, is about eight miles from the shore. The men of Erin effected a landing, laid siege to the Tor,[6] and demolished it. Conan himself and his sons fell in the combat. Morc (another Fomorian leader) arrived soon after with the crews of three score ships from Africa. A furious battle ensued. The combatants did not perceive the sea coming in under them, with the obstinacy of the fighting. They fell mutually; all who were not killed were drowned, with the exception of the crew of one bark, thirty strong men under three chiefs—Simeon Breac, Iobath, and Britan Maol. Borlase, who visited the island, thought from its configuration and elevation "that it did not afford a spot fitted to have been the site of the tide coming in on the fighters."[7] Cæsar Otway, however, writes as follows:—"In the month of August last (1826) a strong and unforeseen storm set in from the north-west, which drove the sea in immense waves over the whole flat part of (Tory) island. The waves beat over the highest cliffs. All the corn was destroyed, the potatoes were washed out of the ground, and the springs of fresh water filled up."[8]

After this combat the Nemedians in Erin took counsel, and resolved te fly from the tyranny of the Fomorians, and after preparing for seven years set sail for various parts in 1,130 vessels—between ship, bark, skiff, and small boat. Ten heroes

[6] Tor, root "Tver," to hold, enclose, = "fenced town or huttery." These strongholds were usually on hills, "Tors."

[7] Dolmens III., 1081.

[8] Sketches in Ireland, 1827, p. 13, note.

remained behind in command of the remnant, who continued under the slavery of the Fomorians inhabitng Erin, until the coming of the Fir-mbolgs. The Four Masters say "216 years Nemed and his race remained in Erin, after that Erin was a wilderness for 200 years."

The Leabhar Gabhala does not represent the Fomorians as having made an "occupation" (gabáltas) of Erin. They were invaders, raiders, but not occupiers. Partholan and Nemed were occupiers but not invaders. The term invasions is not applicable to the taking possession of unowned and uninhabited land, and is not used by McGeoghegan, who uses the word "inhabitancy." We have already indicated our view that Phœnician traders made their way to Erin at a very early period, and in those early days and to a much later time, not very far removed from our own, there was a very thin partition dividing the trader from the pirate. In the usual course trade led on to tribute, tribute to revolt, revolt to extermination or slavery. This Fomorian tradition appears to us to approximate very closely in its broad outlines to true history.[9] There were two tributary poisons by which the pure stream of tradition was fouled on its way to us. We may refer to them as the poison of the synchronists and the poison of the etymologists. The synchronists, beginning with creation, must have felt considerably relieved when they came to the flood, from which they could take a new departure. Keating tells us that "all the colonists who took Erin after the flood descended from Magog, the son of Japhet. At Sen, the son of Esru Partholan and the children of Nemed separate from each other, and At Seara the Fir m-bolgs and the Tuatha Dedannan and the sons of Miled also separate. And it is the Scotic language all these tribes spoke."[10] This was the accepted view, and to sustain it some ingenious devices were resorted to. Nemed's grandson, for instance, Simeon Breac, went into Greece, it was said, to escape the oppression of the Fomorians. His race multiplied there, and came back as Fir m-bolgs, so called from the sacks (bolg) in which they used to carry earth for their task masters!!! The synchronists met with difficulties from the outset. Chronologists were hopelessly at variance as to the length of time that had elapsed from the Creation to the

[9] gab-aim = *capio*, and as gabáil = *occupatio*, a taking possession. [10] Cap. vii.

Birth of Christ. Keating in his preface, as an evidence of such disagreement amongst the best writers, gives the computations of the widely divergent authorities. The usual computation of the "Irish Domestic Annals," as O'Flaherty terms it, agrees closely with the computation of Scaliger. There were, however, other computations in the Irish Annals. The Four Masters, following the Septuagint, and Eusebius, and reckoning 5,199 years from the Creation to the Birth of Christ, were following also an old Irish *rythm*. O'Flaherty, whose figures we quote below, relies mainly on a poem by Gilla Caemhain (†1072), while Eocaid Ua Floinn (†1056) cited in the margin of Ogygia,[11] appears to have calculated 5,199 from the creation to the birth of Christ. In addition to these elements of confusion, the copies of the old texts differed from each other, and from the originals, through the inaccuracy and inattention of the transcribers. The synchronist, beginning with Partholan, 22 years before the birth of Abraham, had to produce a king or a colonist, or account for his absence from that time until the birth of Christ, or as O'Flaherty describes it, "a synchronism in which the epoch and generations of the Irish are accurately collated with foreign ones." The chief of these synchronisms was arranged by Flann of the Monastery. He was a lay professor (Fir leighinn) at the Cistercian Abbey of Monasterboice, in Louth. He synchronized the Kings of the Assyrians, Medes, Persians, Greeks, and the Roman emperors with the kings of Erin, in parallel columns, century by century. He died in 1066, and his learning, which was very great, can of course throw very little light on our early history. An examination of the subjoined table will show that there is very little difference between the various computations from the time of David, which may be approximately fixed at about 1000 B.C.[12] Michael ua Clerigh, the Chief of the Four Masters, in his preface to the "Book of Occupations," states that it appeared to him "whose inheritance it was from his ancestors, to be a chronicler," that it would be a charity for some one of the men of Erin to purify, compile, and rewrite the ancient honoured Chronicle which is called the "Book of Occupations."[13]

[11] Ogygia (1685), p. 3 and 8. The marginal note referred to is omitted in Hely's (1793) translation, p. xxvii.

[12] Ogygia, Part II.

[13] O'Curry (MSS.), p. 172.

"We give (he writes) the computation of the Septuagint for the first four ages with the computation which the intelligent and learned men who followed them applied to the ages of the world from the creation to the birth of Christ, which they divided into four parts. Among these are Eusebias, who in his Chronicle computes from the creation to the birth of Christ, to be 5,199 years. Orosius says that there are from Adam to Abraham 3,184 years; and from Abraham to the birth of Christ 2,015 years, which makes the same number. St. Jerome says in his Epistle to Titus that 6,000 years had not then been completed. St. Augustine, in the City of God, counts it at 6,000 years. The reason we have followed the writers who follow the Septuagint is because they have added a fifth to their ages, and so make out the period of 5,199 years from the creation to the birth of Christ. So also the Roman Martyrology." [14] A tabular view of the chronology of our texts and of sacred chronology will be found in the following table :—

CHRONOLOGY OF OUR TEXTS.

	Scaliger.	Domestic.	Four Masters.	Keating.
From the Creation to the Deluge	1656–1583	1656	2242	1656
Thence to ceasing of the Flood	1	—	—	—
Thence to birth of Abraham	292	292	942	344
Thence to David	940	942	940	—
Thence to Captivity ...	471	473	485	—
Thence to Birth of Christ	589	589	590	—
Creation to Christ ...	3949	3952	5199	4052

SACRED CHRONOLOGY.

The variations are endless on this subject. De Vignolles reckons 200 different computations. The following is offered as a popular, but disputed view :—

	Hebrew.	Samaritan.	Septuagint.
Adam to Noah	1656	1307	2242
Noah to Abraham... ...	292	942	942
Abraham to Christ ...	2044	2044	2044
	3992	4293	5228

The reign of David may be assigned to 1,000 B.C
The fall of Jerusalem ,, 586

[14] OCurry MS., 170, 172, condensed.

We may deal more briefly with the etymological poison. It may be safely stated as a general rule that whenever anything is stated to be a fact in connection with an etymology in nine cases out of ten it is sure to be pure fiction.[15] The Dindsenchus, a mytho-heroic topography, the Coir Anmann, a mytho-heroic biography, and Keating, are filled with these absurdities. It is only fair to add that absurdities almost as great continued in Classical literature well into the middle of the nineteenth century, when their place was taken by the absurdities of the solar myth. Much, if not all, the synchronisms and legends connected with pre-Gaelic Erin must unhesitatingly be set down to the influence of Christianity and the invention of early Christian bards, who felt a desire to trace their kings back to Japhet. The native unchristianised genealogies all converge to the sons and nephews of Golamh (Milesius.) The legends of their exploits and those of their successors are the real race heritage of the Gael "unmixed with the fanciful Christian allusions and Hebraic adulterations of the pre-Milesian story which was the last to be invented."[16]

The third "occupation" of Erin was by a people whom recent writers call Firbolgs; but whom the Gaels called *Firmbolgs* or *Firbholgs*, and whom MacGeoghegan very properly denominates Firvolce in his translation of the Annals of Clonmacnoise. The Firvolce held possession of Erin for thirty-seven years from 1934 to 1897, during which there were eight kings! We shall see that next to the Gael they were the most important people that occupied Erin, and had many sub-denominations.

They were, our texts say, the descendants of Simeon Breac, the son of Starn, the son of Nemed. The fourth occupants were the Tuatha Dedanann, descended from Jobath, the great grandson of Nemed, who held possession for 197 years (1897-1701 B.C.) The second, third and fourth "Occupants" were thus Nemedians, of one stock, speaking one language, and held possession at the coming of the Gael. There were three sub-divisions of the Firvolce, the Fir Domhnann and the Fir-Gailéoin, all, however, in common were called Firvolce, though sometimes accounted distinct and separate occupants.[17]

[15] Isidore of Seville 636 A.D., called his encyclopædia work *de omni scibili.* "Books of Etymologies"—(Libri Etymologiarum, xx.)

[16] Hyde "Literary History," 46. For ethnology of Firvolce see Cap. I.

[17] Ꝫiḋeaḋ ꝫoiṅṫeoṅ ꝼiṅ-bholꝫ ꝫo coiṫċionn ḋoíḃ uile.—*Keating*, c. ix.

The five sons of Deala, who was ninth in descent from Starn, the son of Nemed, commanded the expedition of the Firvolce, which consisted of 5,000 in 1,130 ships, counting ship, bark, skiff, and small boat. They sailed from Greece, over the Torrian Sea to Spain, and thence to Erin, which they divided into five provinces—Ulster, Connact, Leinster, and South and North Munster. They established a pentarchy with an Ardrigh, and were governed by eight kings in succession during the thirty-seven years they held possession. In after times the Fir-Gailéoin were associated with Leinster, and the Fir Domhnann with North-West Connact—the latter having originally landed, it was said, at Blacksod Bay. The ninth and last high king was Eocaid MacErc, who had to wife Tailtin, daughter of Maghmor, King of Spain, the foster-mother of Lug. According to the Poem of Columba, it was she that founded the fair of Tailtin. She founded the Fair as the Nasad of Lug, the Sungod (not god of the son), and it was not, as more frequently stated, Lug that founded the Fair in commemoration of Tailtin. The mortal name of Lug in Gaelic tales is Lugaid Lam-fada.[18]

There was no rain or tempestuous weather in Eocaid's time, nor a year without great produce and fruit. All injustice and unlawfulness were suppressed, and sure and excellent laws were ordained in it. He ruled the land from Royal Tara for ten prosperous years. When Nuada landed with the Tribes of Dedannan (Tuaṫa de Danann), and demanded a settlement in the country, Eocaid refused his kinsman's request, and said—"Leave the land, remain as slaves, or fight to the death." A fierce battle was then fought at Moytura, in Mayo, at the neck of land which joins Lough Mask with Lough Corrib, sometimes called Moytura Conga.

The field on which the battle of South Moytura is said to have been fought extends from five to six miles north to south. Near the centre of this space, and nearly opposite to Cong, is a group of five stone circles. On other parts of the field are six or seven large cairns of stone, amongst which is the

[18] Is ingen Magmóir ní dál doil ben Echaċ mic Duaċ
Gorab Tailtin broinne oenaig ain muime Loga mic Scail.

It is the daughter of Maghmor, the family is not obscure, the wife of Eocaid, son of Duach, that was the founder of the Fair of Tailtin, and the foster-mother of Lug, the son of Scal. L.L., p. 8, col. 1.

celebrated one-man cairn (Carn an aoin Fir), a name handed down by tradition. The story that has reached us in writing states that on the morning of the fourth day of the battle, Eocaid, the Ardrigh, while bathing at a well near the cairn, was suddenly attacked by three of the foe. His giolla fought the three single-handed and slew them, but died of his wounds, and was buried with honour in a cairn close by. Sir W. Wilde, book in hand identified the well, as he tells us, and caused the cairn to be opened, and found it contained an urn.[19]

The "red slaughter" was preceded by a combat between three "nines" at each side in a game of "hurley," which took place in the "Valley of the Athletes" (Glean-mo-Ailleam). The twenty-seven Dedananns were defeated and died, and "the heap of the game" (Carn an Cluithe), which may be seen to this day, was erected over them. "How like in its way," says a recent historian, "to the erection on the plain of Marathon, pointing out where the Athenians fell!" The great fight lasted four days. Fathach, the bard, chanted the battle song (Rosg Catha) of the Firvolce to hearten them for the fight; Edana, the poetess, led the chant on the side of the Dedanann. The High King and Sreng led the Firvolce, and performed the usual prodigies of valour; Nuada, the Dagda, and Ogma commanded the Dedanann. Sreng engaged Nuada in single combat, and cut off his right arm at the shoulder with a sword cut, but Nuada survived. On both sides healing baths of hot milk and herbs had been prepared for the cure of the wounded. "It is from Lusmag, in the King's County, Diancecht brought every herb and grated them at the well of Glainge in Achad Abla before the battle of Magh Tuiradh, when the great battle was fought between the Tuatha Dea and the Fomori."[20]

Nuada's wound was in time healed by the skill of Diancecht, the King's physician, and Credne, the craftsman (Ceard) made a silver arm for him, and the king was ever after known as Nuada of the Silver Hand (Nuada Airgid-lamh). On the fourth day the Firvolce were completely routed, and Eocaid, the Ard Righ, was slain. A cairn was erected over him at the Hill of Killower, distant about a mile from Lough

[19] Sir W. Wilde's address to Royal Irish Academy.
[20] *Res. Coll.*, xvi., 59. *Dinnseanchus.* Lusmag.

Mask. It is called Carn Eocaid, and is the most extensive and remarkable in the west of Ireland. A few miles to the east of the battlefield is the Hill of Knockma, five miles south-west of Tuam, on the top of which is the mound of Cesair, who invaded Erin with fifty maidens and three men before the Flood, and is known now probably as Finnbheara, queen of the fairies of Connact.[21] The origin, names, and use of many of the monuments on the plain are to be found in a Saga descriptive[22] of the battle. The annals of Clonmacnoise say, "100,000 men were slain in the fight, which was the greatest slaughter that ever was heard of in Erin at one time." According to the Saga, the Firvolce afterwards obtained from the Dedanann the province of Connact, which was known, amongst other names, as Sreng's "fifth," up to the time of Conn of the Hundred Battles. Keating, however, says that the Firvolce fled to the islands of Arran, Islay, Rathlin, and the Hebrides, which they held possession of until driven out by the Picts. They then fled to Leinster, and finally returned to Connact in Queen Meve's time. Many pedigrees were subsequently traced to this stock, which produced distinguished soldiers. O'Flaherty, whose opinion on this point is of special weight, tells us that in the time of the Gaels "whom very probably they assisted in dispossessing and expelling the Dananns, they were restored to their landed properties and dignities. For Crimthan Skaithbell, one of them, was constituted governor of Leinster by King Heremon, which was afterwards denominated the province of the Gallinians. The Erneans and Martineans, of whom there is frequent mention in subsequent accounts, were the descendants of the Firbolgs. The Damnonians were the most ancient princes of Connact to the time of King Cormac. . . . Of these were three particular families—the Gamanradians, the Fircraibians, and the Tira-tha Thaiden, by whom Connact was divided into three Connacts, and the people were denominated also the Firolnegemacht."[23]

[21] Dolmens III., 799.

[22] O'Curry MS., 247.

[23] O'Flaherty, Ogygia III., c. xi., p. 175. Tigernach, A.D., 35, calls it Coiceo n-Olnecmacc. Olnegmacc was supposed to be the daughter of a Firvolce chief, Book of Lecan, fol. 221. After the race of Conn of the Hundred Battles —namely, the sons of Eocaid Muigmeadon (Brian and Fiachra) took possession of Connact it became known as Cuinn-iocta, *i.e.*, Conn's race, and the Hy Briuin and the Hy Fiachra became the dominant power in Connact.

The Dedananns appear to have been assisted in this battle by Fomorians. These, however, were not the African sea rovers who fought on Tory Island, but warriors from the northern seas. Nuada, suffering from a personal blemish, could not reign until "his hand had been welded with a piece of refined silver." Breas was made High King in the interim, and ruled for seven years. He was the son of a Fomorian chief, Elatha. His mother was a Dedanann. Another intermarriage of importance, as we shall see, is also mentioned. Cian, the son of Diancecht the physician, married Eithlenn, or Ethnea, the daughter of Balor of the "Stiff Blows," and Kethleen his wife, and had issue the celebrated Lugaid Lamhfadha. This, however, was only his mortal parentage. His real father was the Sun-God Lug. Breas proved to be a niggardly tyrant. "The chiefs of the Dedananns were dissatisfied, for Breas did not grease their knives; in vain came they to Breas, their breath did not smell of ale. Neither their poets, nor bards, nor druids, nor harpers, nor flute-players, nor musicians, nor jugglers, nor fools, appeared before them nor came into the palace to amuse them." He had reduced many of the bravest of the chiefs to a state of vassalage and servitude. Cairbre the satirist, son of Etana the poetess, was shown "into a little house—small, narrow, black, dark—where was neither fire, furniture, nor bed. He was given three little dry loaves, on a little plate. When he rose in the morning he was not thankful." The indignant poet thereupon wrote the first satire that was written in Erin.

Breas was forced to resign soon after. He then went to his father, Elatha, the Fomorian chief, and having secured the aid of Balor of the "Mighty Blows" and the "Evil Eye," and of Indech, the son of De-Domnand, two powerful chiefs, he invaded Erin. From Tara to Tory Island, from Staffa to the Giant's Causeway, the sea was spanned, as it were, by a bridge of ships of every description. A great battle ensued. It was fought on the plain of Moytura, about fifty miles north of the former battle, near Lough Arrow, at Kilmactraney, in Sligo. Nuada, the Dagda, Lugaid Lamh-fadha, Ogma, and Delbart were the leaders of the Dedananns. Breas, Elatha, Balor, Tethra, and Indech were the leaders of the Fomorians. Two ladies graced the combat by

their valour. Macha fought for Nuada, and Kethleen, the wife of Balor and grandmother of Lug, carried sword and spear in the ranks of the Fomorians. The arms carried by the Fomorian chiefs and their costume are described by the authors of the tract on the second battle of Moytura. Elatha the king "had golden hair down to his shoulders. He wore a cloak braided with golden thread, a tunic interwoven with threads of gold, and a brooch of gold at his breast emblazed with precious stones. He carried two bright spears with fine bronze handles in his hand, a shield of gold over his shoulder, and a gold-hilted sword with veins of silver and paps of gold." He had, in addition, a breastplate and a helmet. A fierce fight ensued. Balor of the "Mighty Blows" cut down Nuada with his sword, and Macha, running bravely to aid the king, fell to his spear. Kethleen hurled her lance at the Dagda, and inflicted a wound from which he died one hundred and twenty years afterwards. Ogma was slain by Indech. The victory of the Fomorians seemed assured, but Lug then rushed to the rescue. From his staff-sling (cṛann taḋaıı) he whirled a mighty stone at Balor. It entered the "evil eye," pierced the brain, and passed out through the back of the skull. The mighty Balor fell, to rise no more. The *Mor Riga* then arrived to help the Dedanann, and the battle "was broke" on the Fomorians, and the plain was ever after known as Magh Tuired na bh-Fomoruch (Moytura of the Fomorians)." [24]

"Recent scholarly attempts," says Borlase, "to master the details of this battle legend, have tended rather to countenance the view that the two stories relate to one and the same event," the battle in the Northern Moytura.[25] M. d'Arbois lends the great weight of his authority to this view, which seems to be helped by the fact stated by Douglas Hyde, that in the oldest current list of Irish sagas, drawn up probably in the 7th century, only one battle of Magh Tuired is mentioned, *i.e.*, what is now known as the second or Northern Battle.[26]

[24] *O'Curry MS.*, 248. The tract which contains this Saga, which has a Viking flavour, is referred to by Cormac MacCuilenain in illustration of the word "Nis," and is undoubtedly old, but still written as a Saga 2,000 years after the battle.

Annals Clonmacnoise. *Murphy, S.J.*, Ed., 1-18, "of whom Inniskilhean took the name."

[25] Dolmens III., 803.

[26] Ir. Literature, 283.

Against this view must be weighed the very old local traditions at Cong, and in the introduction to the Senchus Mor, a later text, both battles are referred to. Our view strongly inclines to side with M. d'Arbois, but the question does not admit of a peremptory decision. The meaning of the words Tuatha De Danann, or Tuatha Dedannan, is still a vexed question. If De means gods, then the natural meaning of Tuatha De is tribes of gods, and the De Danann would become mythological beings. "The mythological beings," writes Borlase, "who constitute the Tuatha De Danann took their name from Dana, the daughter of Dealbeath." An alternative translation, suggested by M. d'Arbois, is "tribes of the goddess Dana," *i.e.*, who worshipped Dana. On linguistic grounds, Hyde considers this version venturesome, which is a polite way of saying that it cannot be sustained.[27] The old Irish did not attach this meaning to it, nor is there any trace of a worship or cult of a goddess Dana by special tribes in Erin. They explained it as "men of science who were as gods." This is still more venturesome, in our opinion. It was probably suggested by the supernatural feats of Lug and Balor. We prefer to consider De Danann to be a tribal name-word of the same class as De Domhnan, the father of Indech, already mentioned. There were no anthropomorphic gods or goddesses in Erin at this time. We have not overlooked a primitive Aryan Dev-os, or the Sanskrit Dyaus, which probably meant originally, not a god, but the bright Firmament, a conception which was not likely to survive under the ever-weeping skies of Erin. The Sun, the Moon, the Wind, etc., were the objects of their worship. We consider, therefore, that Dia, *gen.* De, was a loan word from the Latin *Deus*, as Dia day, was a loan word from the Latin *dies*. We, therefore, claim for humanity the redoubtable tribes of Dedanann.

An examination of the various views and theories that have been broached in reference to the Dedanann would require a volume. The plan of this work, and the space at our disposal, compel us to forego the pleasures of controversy. We must, therefore, be content with stating in a summary way the conclusions at which we have arrived. They are the cumulative result of many considerations, which do not lend

[27] Ir. Literature, 286.

themselves to precise and detailed statements. We present them merely as a tentative and conjectural attempt to solve a problem which is, perhaps, insoluble.

There was, we think, but one battle of Moytura, which was fought on the plain now called Moyterra, near Lough Arrow, in Sligo. The Dedanann, aided by Northern Fomorians, after a hard fought field, routed the Firvolce, and slew their High King Eocaid. They then took possession of Tara, and most of what was afterwards known as the "Fifth" of Meath, extending from the Boyne to the Liffey, and southwards and westwards to the Shannon. They ousted, or reduced to slavery, the inhabitant Firvolce, most of whom fled to Scotland and the Western Isles.[28] The Fir Domhnan branch of the Firvolce were, however, allowed to remain in Connact, paying tribute. The Fir Gailléoin branch, too, were allowed to remain in Leinster, as tributaries. The Dedanann then, occupying the rich pastures of Meath, with wealth of slaves and tribute, soon became very powerful, made great progress in civilization, and were the builders of the sepulchral monuments near the Boyne—which may be called "the pyramids of Erin."[29] They were, however, a military aristocracy, and had no roots in the soil, and when defeated by the Gael with the aid of the Firvolce, they were slain in battle or expelled from their territories in Meath. They then disappeared completely from history and passed into fairyland and romance. No genuine legend or tradition concerning them reached our annalists. Such traditions were preserved in families, and there were no Dedanann families left to preserve them. The families of the Firvolce, on the other hand, remained. In them the father passed the tradition on to his son, as the tradition of the Exodus was preserved and passed on by the Hebrews. If we were to suppose that no book was written or printed, the story of the Exodus would reach us substantially as we find it. The bitter herbs and the Paschal Lamb, and the Cup, and the question why does this night differ from other nights at the Passover every year, would secure its preservation. And so

[28] These fugitives were possibly the Cuaċa-Ċaṫ, or Attacoti, of after-time.

[29] "The Cloghaun or beehive hut, as it existed in the Firvolce period, was developed by the Dedanann into their magnificent structures, not inferior to the Treasury of Atreus," and "it is noteworthy that sepulchral monuments with these beehive roofs are unknown in the Scandinavian archæological area."

the traditions of the Firvolce, and afterwards of the Gael, were handed down from father to son. They are genuine in substance, but often over-laid, contorted, and metamorphosed in the social and religious changes that supervened.

There remains for consideration in this chapter an isolated and exceptional religious cult, which in its general character must be described as Semitic, while its special details appear to correspond closely with the Phœnician, or Carthagenian, ritual in the worship of Melkarth or Moloch. The matter is one of high importance, as we shall see when we come to consider the cult of the Gaels at the coming of St. Patrick. On it has been mainly based the contention that the Gael were anthropomorphic idolators.

In the Tripartite Life of St. Patrick we read that he went over the water to Magh Slecht, a place in which was the chief idol of Ireland—namely, Cean Cruaich—covered with gold and silver, and twelve other idols covered with brass, about him. These idols were probably of wood, and covered with gold or brass plates.[30] Here the idol is called "Cenn Cruaich" (*i.e.*, bloody head); but the common name for it was Crom Cruaich, or Crom Dubh, that is "bloody stoop" or "black stoop"—which indicates that the idol was stooping forward.[31] These names were evidently not the names given to the idol by votaries; what it was called by them we do not know.

Magh Slecht was situated either in Cavan or in Leitrim. O'Donovan thought at one time that it was in Cavan, near Ballymagauran, but afterwards wavered in this view, as Douglas Hyde tells us.[32] Canon O'Hanlon,[33] in his life of St. Patrick, contends that Magh Slecht was in the plains of Leitrim, not far from Ballinamore, near Feenagh. This view has much to recommend it, and may be provisionally accepted. The district is noticed by Borlase, who refers to a group of monuments within a mile and a half north of Lough Saloch.[34]

[30] These idols were the only anthropomorphic idols found by St. Patrick in Erin. Jocelyn's story of the twelve idols at Cashel is merely a variant of Magh Slecht. We shall refer to it and the story of Tigernmas later on.

[31] Tripartite Life—Stokes, p. 91.

[32] Literature of Ireland, p. 86.

[33] O'Hanlon's "Lives of Irish Saints," vol. iii., p. 581.

[34] Dolmen's, vol. i., p. 194.

Some of the graves there were opened, and no human bones were discovered. The bones of cows, sheep, and horses, were found in them in abundance. O'Donovan asks did men ever erect graves over cows and horses? We can answer, that in France ancient tombs have been found without human bones. These are supposed to have been for the accommodation of the souls of men who died in war, and whose bodies could not be recovered. Borlase also says, "there must have been several dolmens among this group of monuments."[35]

The account of this idol in the Dinnsenchus, which contains stories and legends about the hills and famous places in Erin, is as follows:—"Magh Slecht: 'Tis there was the king idol of Erin—namely, Crom Cruaich, and around him twelve idols made of stones, but he was of gold. Until Patrick's advent he was the god of every folk that colonised Ireland. To him they used to offer the firstlings of every issue and the chief scions of every clan."[36]

In the Book of Leinster there is a poem on this subject, which is, no doubt, earlier than the prose Dinnsenchus, which has been translated by Kuno Meyer.[37] We quote the following verses from it:—

Here used to be
A high idol with many fights,
Which was named the Cromm Cruaich.
It made every tribe to be without peace.

In their ranks stood
Four times three stone idols
To bitterly beguile the hosts.
The figure of this Cromm was made of gold.

To him without glory
They would kill their piteous, wretched offspring[38]
With much wailing and *peril*? [ʒoıl 7 ʒaıṙ]
To pour their blood around Cromm Cruaich.

We shall now refer to the Semitic or Phœnician cult.

Though there is sporadic or inferential evidence of child sacrifice in many parts of the world, the Phœnicians and their colonists, especially the Carthagenians, are the one civilized

[35] Might tombs have been made for the holocausted?

[36] The Rennes Dindsenchus, *Rev. Celt.*, vol. xvi., p. 35.

[37] The Voyage of Bran," vol. ii., p. 304.

[38] The children used to be slaughtered in Israel and Phœnicia before being burned.

people of antiquity of whom we know that the sacrifice of their own children was practised, not as an occasional recrudescence of savage superstition, not in the hole-and-corner rites of some abominable mystery, but as an established and prominent part of the public religion.

Such sacrifices took place either annually on an appointed day or before great enterprises, or on the occasion of public calamities to appease the wrath of the god, *i.e.*, Moloch, the Fire God.[39]

From Phœnicia it is supposed that this cult was introduced into Judah. The offering of children by fire in the Tophet in the Valley of Hinnom, near the Temple itself, is frequently referred to and denounced in the Old Testament. Jeremiah protests repeatedly that Yahwé had not enjoined these sacrifices. The people of Judah built the Tophet sanctuary in the Valley of Ben-Hinnom "to burn their sons and daughters with fire, a thing which I commanded them not, nor did it enter into my mind."

Compare now the ritual in Carthage as described by Diodorus Siculus with what we may reasonably infer was the ritual at *Magh Slecht*, bearing in mind that the custom was to slaughter the victims before burning them and probably to pour the blood either on the statue or round it or on the altar. The blood was, no doubt, the most precious part of the sacrifice.

"In 310," writes Diodorus, "when Agathodes had reduced "Carthage to the last extremities, seeing the enemy encamped "before the city, they (*i.e.*, the Carthaginians) were struck "with fear of the gods for having neglected their worship, "and, hastening to correct their mistakes, they selected 200 "of their most distinguished boys (*τῶν ἐπιφανίστατων πάιδων*) and "sacrificed them as public victims. *Now they had a brazen "statue of Cronos (i.e., Malkorth or Moloch) stretching out the hands "upturned, and bending towards the earth so that the boy placed upon "them would roll off and fall into a pit of fire.*"

Ην δε παρ' αὐτοῖς ἀνδριὰς Κρόνου χαλκοῦς ἐκτετακώς τὰς χεῖρας ὑπτίας ἐγκεκλιμένας ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν, ὥστε τον ἐπιτεθέντα τῶν παιδῶν ἀποκυλιέσθαι καὶ πίπτειν εἴς τι χασμα πλῆρες πυρός.[40]

[39] See Moloch. "Encyclopædia Biblica Cheyne," and Hastings' "Diet of Bible." Dollinger Judenthum und Haedenthum, 427.

[40] Deodorus Siculus xx., 14-5.—Dindorf, 1867, Ed., vol. iv., p. 163.

If the idol at Magh Slecht was black, with a bloody head stooped forward, it is difficult to resist the inference that it was an idol of the same character and for the purposes of the same cult as that practised at Carthage. Nor is there any difficulty in supposing that the Phœnicians had intercourse with Ireland. At an early period, so far as is known, they had their first home in the Persian Gulf. They then settled in South Arabia and Somaliland, and passed up the Red Sea into Egypt, thence into Philistia and Phœnicia, and then pushed westward across the Mediterranean, following the lines of water communication by sea or river. Phœnician Kings ruled in Egypt during the fifteenth dynasty (1928-1738) and during the sixteenth dynasty (1587-1327). In the Greek traditions it is not easy to separate the Phœnicians from the Egyptians, and the Irish texts speak of an Egyptian but not of a Phœnician connection. Whatever truth may be contained in these texts must be explained by Phœnician relations with Ireland.

The Phœnicians, according to Mouers, founded Cadiz as early as the fifteenth or sixteenth century B.C. Others place the date some centuries later. We think Mouers is likely to be right. The tendency of the evidence derived from recent excavations and researches is to throw back those dates. We may be certain that the Phœnicians had passed through the Pillars long before they founded the colony.[41] There can be no question that they sailed into the North Sea, trading presumably, amongst other things, for amber.[42] A Phœnician merchant won the favour of the nurse of Eumaeus by the present of a chain hung with amber beads.[43]

χρυσεον ὅρμον ἔχων μετὰ δ' ἠλεκτροισιν ἔερτο.—(Odyssey, 15, 460.)

This amber was found not only in the Baltic, as was formerly supposed, but also on the shores of Friesland and the neighbouring islands between the mouths of the Rhine and the Elbe, and on the west coast of Denmark. Beads said to be of this peculiar amber were found at Mycenæ, and in the tombs of the early dynasties in Egypt. Maspero asks how

[41] Phœnisches Alterthum," vol. ii., 2nd part, p. 625.
[42] Rawlinson's "Phœnicea," p. 302.
[43] "Amber. All about it." J. C. Haddon, 1892.

many hands they passed through.[44] If they were sea-borne by the Phœnicians the answer is not difficult. It cannot be proved from the classical texts that the Phœnicians passed through the Cattegat into the Baltic,[45] and as there was plenty of amber in the North Sea they would have no object in establishing a perilous trade route into it. The Baltic traffic would thus pass, as we know the fact was, by overland routes, by the Vistula, the Danube and the Rhine.

"Without the trade in amber," says M. Oppert,[46] "the ancient navigators, especially the Phœnicians, would never have heard tell of the Western seas."

The Phœnicians were great miners and metallurgists. Mr. Borlase, now resident manager of several tin reservations in N.W. Spain, says:—"I once believed the Scilly Islands and "the Land's End district were in truth the islands (*i.e.*, the "Cassiterides), being unaware that tin had been raised in any "appreciable quantity in Gallicia. A study of the mineralogical "features of North Western Spain has completely altered my "views. The ancient tin workings of Gallicia prove to be of "enormous extent; that it was from the bays and estuaries of "Ferrol, Vigo, etc., *and the islands* of Cycas, Cies, or Boyona "that tin first found its way to the Mediterranean for the pur-"poses of bronze through the agency of Phœnician merchants, "I feel no doubt; that the vague district over the sea, namely, "Cornwall, was soon recognised as an important field of pro-"duction may be taken for granted also."[47]

Borlase pronounces the Spanish tin to be abundant and of superior quality to that now produced in Cornwall. So it does not seem clear why the Phœnician, having plenty of a superior metal in Spain, should have recourse to Cornwall. Nor is it clear why, having an abundance of the finest copper ore to hand in Spain, they should not manufacture bronze, which is an alloy of copper and tin, on the spot. We venture to suggest that bronze was first manufactured in Spain by the Phœnicians; there is no other place in Europe where copper and tin are found together. A large number of copper celts have been

[44] Maspero's "Dawn of Civilization" (1897), p. 393. The beads found in the tombs by him still possessed electrical properties.

[45] Mullenhof "Deutsche Altherthumkunde," I., 215.

[46] Oppert, Jules, "L'Ambre Jaune chez les Assyrias," Paris, 1880.

[47] Borlase, Dolmens, vol iii., p. 1,233 (N.B. in Appendix after Index).

found in Ireland as well as in Spain and the Cevennes, indicating a transition period between the stone and the bronze age.

The Phœnicians were great explorers. Under Necho, Pharaoh of Egypt (611-595 B.C.), they circumnavigated Africa. They set out from the Red Sea, doubled the Cape of Good Hope, *having, they alleged, the sun on their right hand*, and returned through the Pillars of Hercules after an absence of three years. This reference to the sun being on the right hand has been regarded by some as conclusive evidence of the truth of the story. Herodotus says the thing was to him incredible, though he believed in the fact of the circumnavigation. It is, in reality, neutral and proves nothing. The Phœnicians knew perfectly well that if they sailed from East to West so far South, they should have the sun on their right hand. They had pushed their trade East and South, and an inscription in the Phœnician tongue has been found in Borneo. The marvel is how Herodotus, if he went as far south as Syene, where the sun is vertical at the summer solstice, could have found any difficulty in believing the statement. This is some corroboration of Mr. Sayce's view that he never went so far south.

Sometime in the sixth century, two expeditions, which appear to be in a measure supplementary to the former, started from Carthage. The first was commanded by Hanno. This Periplus, which has come down to us in a Greek translation, states "It was decreed by the Carthagenians that Hanno should undertake a voyage beyond the Pillars of Hercules, and there found Lybo-Phœnician cities." He sailed accordingly with sixty ships of fifty oars each, and a body of men and women to the number of 30,000 ! and provisions and other necessaries. The Penteconlers were a convoy; the men and women were in merchant ships, ὅλκαδες. The number appears to be excessive. Possibly it should be 3,000. Hanno founded the colonies, no trace of which remain, and on his return inscribed the particulars of his voyage on a tablet, which he dedicated in the temple of Melkarth at Carthage.

The second expedition was commanded by Hamilco, and sailed, according to Pliny, at the same time as that of Hanno.

"While the power of Carthage was at its height,[48] Hanno "made the passage round from Gades to the borders of Arabia, "and left a written account of his voyage, as did also Hamilco, "who was sent out at the same time to explore the outer coasts "of Europe." The account of the voyage is found in Avienus, who was pro-consul in Africa in 366 A.D., and who states that he took it from the archives at Carthage.[49]

Hamilco passed through the Pillars, and sailed to the "Æstrymnides rich in tin," which we assume were the Cassiterides Islands, off Spain, already mentioned. Hence he laid his course north, and in two *suns*, which means probably 2 days and 3 nights, 60 hours, made the coast of Erin, the distance being about 540 nautical miles, from the North of Spain to the South of Ireland.[50]

The account in Avienus we give in a translation: "But hence (that is, from the Æstrymnides) in two suns the ship's course was to the Sacred Island, for so it was named of old. This, amidst the waves, spreads wide its soil; the race of the Hiberni cultivate it widely. Near it again the island of the Albioni is spread."[51]

"Sacra," sacred, is in Greek ἱερὰ, which comes near πίειρα(ἄρουρα) and ἰερνη, the Greek name for Erin. The poetic licence is not great.

Avienus adds that the Carthaginian colonists and seamen generally passed through the Pillars into the seas, which Himilco reported that he himself had found by experience could not be crossed in less than four months owing to calms, the sluggishness of the waters, and the vast quantity of seaweed. The sea was shallow, and wild animals and sea monsters abounded as the ships crept along. This appears to

[48] Pliny, N. H. II., 67. Et Hanno Carthaginis potentia florente circumvectus a Gadibus ad finem Arabiæ navigationem eam prodidit scripto, sicut ad extera Europæ noscenda missus eodem tempore Himilco.

[49] Ora Maritima, 108-112.

[50] Philip O'Sullivan Beare says in 1619, the voyage from Erin to France took scarcely more than two days, and the voyage to Spain three days. The voyage from Kinsale to Corunna in Spain was frequently made in the time of his uncle, the hero of Dunboy.—Decas Patritiana, 1619, p. 21.

[51] Ast hine duabus in sacram (sic insulam
Dixere prisci) solilus cursus rati est
Hæc inter undas multa cespitem jacet
Eamque late gene Hibernorum colit
Propinqua rursus insula Albionum patet.
—Ora Maritima, v., 108-112.

indicate pretty clearly the Sargasso Sea in the centre of the North Atlantic, and it is difficult to avoid the conclusion arrived at by Vossius that America would have been reached only for "the enormous floating banks of gulfweed, on which a large number of pecular animals live," to borrow a modern description of the Sargasso Sea.[52].

However this may be, in fact we present the view merely as a probable conjecture. It does not possess the quantity or quality of probability that we call historical truth. The Phœnician traders had, undoubtedly, a complete knowledge of the coast round Erin, and it is from them that Ptolemy and Marianus, of Tyre, derived their information.[53]

We have devoted, perhaps, a disproportionate space to this part of our subject in order to prepare our readers for the intelligent appreciation of our next chapter. In the penumbra of legend and tradition the reader will be able to see his way more clearly when he has purged his mind from the error of believing that the men of Erin lived in a state of isolated savagery, practising cannibalism, and sacrificing their children to a bloodthirsty god.

NOTE—

The referenee to Ireland in the Agricola may be conveniently given here. Tacitus tells us that his father-in-law, Agricola, in the fifth year of his campaign, *A.D.* 82, "crossed the Frith of Clyde in the first "ship (probably when navigation commenced). He reduced peoples "hitherto unknown in battles at once frequent and successful, and, "equipped with troops the parts of Britain which look towards Ireland "(probably Galloway) not that he feared an attack, but rather hoped "(to invade that country); since Ireland placed in the middle between "Britain and Spain, and convenient also for the Gallic Sea would unite "the soundest parts of the Empire (*i.e.*, Britain and Spain, etc.), to "their mutual advantage. Its size is rather small compared to Britain,

[52] As to communication with America by the Pacific route from India, *via* Malaysia at a very remote period, see Professor O. T. Masson's Migration and the Food Question; a study in the peopling of America." Washington, 1804, and L. C. Johnston—"Did the Phœnicians discover America?" He says yes, and that they laid the foundations of the Aztic civilization. Geog. Soc. California, 1892.

[53] Brehmer, in his "Entdeckungen," 1822, first insisted strongly on this point. He was opposed by Heeren, in an essay read before the Royal Society of Gottingen (1824). Letronne and Askert took the same view. Latham, in his article, "Brittanicæ Insulæ," without referring to Brehmer, observed that Ireland was a country which, so far as it was known at all, was known through the Greeks, the Iberians, and Phœnicians. Finally, Nordskiold, a high authority, in his Fac Simile Atlas (1889), p. 31, col. b), adopts Brehmer's view —"Trotz det stora anscende som Heeren med rätta atujuter sem forskart i den grekeska, Kulturdesterien tvekar jag ejatti denna fraga i Viss män stalla mig på Brehmers ständpunkt."

"but is greater than that of the islands in our sea (*i.e.*, the Mediter-"ranean.) The soil climate "*intellectuals*" (*ingenia*) *and habits of the* "*people do not differ much from Britain; the landing places and* "*harbours* (*differ*) *for the better, and are well known through traders and dealers.*" Agricola had sheltered one of their chieftains who had been exiled in consequence of their civil strife, and under the guise of friendship kept him to use him when wanted (*in occasionem*).

I have often heard him, i.e., Agricola, say that "with one legion and a few auxiliaries Ireland could be put down and held, and that it would be an advantage against Britain, too, if the Roman arms should be on all sides, and liberty put away out of sight.—*Agricola*, c. 24.

The passage we have translated in *italics* stands as follows in two Vatican MSS., and in the Codex Toletanus (of Toledo) which has been recently collated by Dr. O. Lenze of Tubingen. (See Philologus, vol. 8, p. 549). "Solum, cœlumque et ingenia cultusque hominum haud multum a Britannia differunt; in melius aditus, portusque per commercia et negotiatores cogniti." This text presents no difficulty, if (*a*) *differunt* can be supplied according to the usage of Tacitus from the preceding clause, and (*b*) if "differunt in melius" can be translated "differ for the better." Tacitus has *in melius referre* and "*in melius mutatue*," and we have found in the De Civitate Dei the following:—"Quod si ita est ecce Platonicus in melius a Platone dissentit (*i.e.*, differs in opinion from Plato for the better). Ecce videt quod ille (*i.e.*, Plato) non vidit."—De Civitate Dei, Book 10, c. 30.

Halm's suggestion that the words *interiora parum* have dropped out of the text—that is, "the interior of the country is little known, the landing places and harbours are better known," has nothing to recommend it, if true, the learned Professor will have succeeded in placing in the text of Tacitus the only platitude to be found there.

The superiority of Ireland in the matter of harbours was greatly relied on in the evidence given before the Committee of the British Privy Council when the commercial relations between the two countries were, at the end of the eighteenth century, under consideration. English manufacturers were to be ruined, etc., it was contended, if equal advantages were conceded to the Irish.—See Newenham's "View of Ireland," 1809, p. 14.

A note of a technical character may find a place here to state and answer an objection that may be fairly made. The objection is: If the Phœnicians had the full knowledge you suggest of the British Isles, how came it to pass that Ptolemy, who had that knowledge communicated to him, has so misdescribed the northern part of Britain? The answer is: Ptolemy was primarily an astronomer, as a perusal of his first chapter and his Almagest will plainly show. On astronomical grounds, principally on inferences from the length of the longest day which he gives for Big and Little Britain in the Almagest, he placed the British Isles about 5 degrees—say 300 miles—too far north. The northern limit of the οἰκούμενη was also a fixed line for his calculations, the details about which cannot be given here. When he approached this line in preparing the tables given in his second chapter (which we shall call his map, though no map is known to have been made in his time), and compared the space left with the distances in the itineraries

of the Phœnicians, he found that these distances would not fit in northwards. So he crumpled, contorted, and turned eastwards the configuration of the land on his map to make it fit in. Now the proposition for which we contend is the result of a careful and minute examination of that configuration, and the place-names given by Ptolemy, and a comparison of both with present conditions. It is this on which we invite the judgment of men better equipped for the task than we are—viz., that if these crumplings, contortions, and twistings, were shaken out and rectified, it would be reasonable to infer that the tables or itineraries of the Phœnicians were as accurate for North Britain as they were for South Britain and Ierne. It is important also to note here that he attaches the "*Ebudæ*" (Hebrides), which were no doubt the "glacialis Ierne" of Claudian to the Map of Ierne.

CHAPTER III.

The Coming of the Gael.

IN Spain there were born to Breogan two sons, Bile and Ith. Bile was the father of Golamh (the soldier), who was afterwards known as Milesius, or Miled, of Spain. When Golamh (Gollav) grew up he went on his wanderings: first to Scythia, where he married Sreng, the daughter of the king; and afterwards to Egypt, where he married Scota, the daughter of the Pharaoh Nectonibus. The descendants of Breogan prospered in Spain, and multiplied; but hard times came, and there was a great drought for twenty-five years, and a famine, and their strength was wasted in conflicts with other tribes for the sovereignty of Spain. So they held a council at Breogan's Tower, near Corunna, to determine what country they should invade. It was resolved to send Ith to reconnoitre the island of Erin; not, as some assert, because he had seen it like a white cloud on a winter's night from the top of Breogan's Tower. The position of the island was well known to the inhabitants of Spain; and there was trading between the two countries. Ith then sailed to Erin with 150 men, and landed in the north, where some of the country-folk came to meet him—and accosted him in the *Scot-bearla*, or Gaelic. He answered them in the same tongue. They told him that the three sons of Kermad Milbeol (of the honey tongue), the son of the Dagda, ruled the land year about in turn, and kept court at Aileach.

Thither went Ith thereupon, and was received by the kings with the "thousand welcomes." He was loud in his praises of the great fertility of the soil: abounding in honey, and in fruit, and in fish, and in milk, and in vegetables, and in corn, whilst the air was of so pleasant a temperature—between heat and cold. This aroused the suspicions of the kings. They feared that if he was allowed to depart in safety he would come back with a large army. On his way to the shore he was waylaid and attacked, and borne to his ship mortally wounded. He died at sea, on his voyage back to

Spain. To avenge his death, and seize Erin, the sons of Golamh mustered a fleet of thirty ships, in each of which there were thirty men, and sailed for Erin. On making land at Inver Slainge (Wexford) the Dedananns threw a magic mist around them, and with spells drove them away from the shore. They then sailed along the south of the island, and landed at Inver Sceine (Kenmare Bay), whence they marched to Slieve Mish, in Kerry. Here they were met by one of the three queens. Amergin, asked her name. "Banba is my name," replied she, "and from me the island is called Banba." They then marched to Slieve Eiblinn (Phelim) in Limerick, and met Fodhla, another queen. Amergin asked her her name. "My name is Fodhla," replied she, "and from me the island is called Fodhla." They then marched to Uisneach, and met Eri. Amergin asked her her name. "My name is Eri," replied she, "and from me the island is called Eri; the queen of the king for the year gives her name to the kingdom." They then marched to Tara, where they met the three kings, and demanded battle or the kingdom. The kings objected, but agreed to leave the matter to the decision of Amergin, the son of Golamh, adding, that if he pronounced an unjust judgment they would kill him with magic. He decided that the Gael should retire to the coast, and set out nine waves to sea; and then, if they could effect a landing in spite of the Dedananns, they should possess the land. The Gael then retired, and went out beyond the tenth wave, when the foe raised a tempest by magic and dispersed their fleet. There were eight sons of Golamh on board these ships. All but three, Eber, Eremon, and Amergin, perished.

Five of these sons were sunk in the wave,
Five of the stalwarth sons of Golamh,
In song loving Eri's spacious bays,
Thro' Danann wiles and Druidic spells.

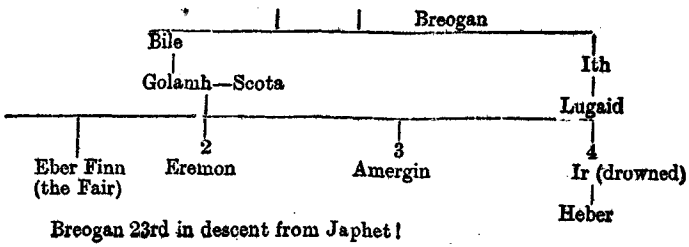
Eber landed with the crews of his ships in Kerry, and fought a battle at Slieve Mis, near Tralee, and routed the enemy. Scota, the wife of Golamh, was amongst the slain. She was buried in the valley of Glen Scoithen, near the scene of the battle, where her tomb is still pointed out. A second

and decisive battle was shortly afterwards fought at Tailtin in Meath, in which Banba, Fodhla, and Eri, with their husbands, were slain, and the Dananns almost annihilated.

> Fodhla was slain by the boastful Etan,
> Banba was slain by the victor, Caicher,
> Eri, the bounteous, fell by Surghi,
> Of these famed heroines such was the dire doom.

Eber and Eremon then assumed the joint sovereignty of the island, and divided it between them, Eremon taking the northern half. Next year they quarrelled and fought a battle near Geashill, in the King's County, in which Eber was defeated and slain. Eremon then became sole king, and reigned fourteen years. This was the taking of Erin by the Gael.[1]

The pedigrees of the Gael are all traced up to one or other of the three sons of Golamh, *i.e.*, Eber, Eremon, and Ir, or to Lugaid, the son of Ith, his nephew; or to vary the statement, so as to bring it nearer to the probable, under these eponymi were arranged all the several tribes and families who, in the opinion of the annalist, constituted the Gael of Erin. As regards the previous history of the Gael, the synchronists and the etymologists revel in supplying us with facts. Finius Farsa, fourth in descent from Japhet, was king of Syria, and kept a great school for teaching languages, as did his son Niall, the father of Gaedal Glas, from whom the Gael are named. Nial and Gaedal Glas met Aaron and Moses in Egypt. Moses healed Gaedal from the bite of a serpent. Eber Scot was the great grandson of Gaedal Glas, and the opinion of antiquaries was divided as to whether the Gael were called Scots from him, or because they came from Scythia. The etymologists could not, of course, resist the temptation of



Breogan 23rd in descent from Japhet!

alleging that the Gael were called the "Cinead Scuit" (Scots) because they came from Scit-ena (Scythia).[2]

What race of men were the Gael? Anthropologists say that hereditary types constitute a race, and that traits are associated to form these types. Ripley, following the majority of anthropologists, makes a three-fold division of the races of Europe into Teutonic, Alpine or Celtic, and Mediterranean. Deniker differs from all others in combining his three separate physical traits into six principal races and four or more sub-races. This, however, is a difference of method of classification rather than one of substance, and the three-fold classification, as set forth in the subjoined table, is convenient and adequate for our purpose.[3]

EUROPEAN RACIAL TYPES.[4]

——	Head.	Face.	Hair.	Eyes.	Stature.	Nose.
1. Nordic or Teutonic.	Long	Long	Very light	Blue	Tall	Aquiline
2. Alpine or Celtic.	Round	Broad	Light chestnut	Hazel grey	Medium, Stocky	Variable, rather broad, heavy
3. Mediterranean	Long	Long	Dark brown or black	Dark	Medium, Slender	Rather broad

This table shows the combination of traits into racial types. It speaks for itself.

The Gael were not Celts. "Whatever be," says Ripley, "the state of opinion among students of other cognate sciences, there is practically to-day a complete unanimity of opinion among physical anthropologists that the term *Celt*, if used at all, belongs to the second of our three races, viz.—the broad-headed (brachycephalic), darkish population of the Alpine Highlands. Such is the view of Broca, Bertrand, Topinard, Collignon, and all the French authorities. It is accepted by

[2] In the Gaelic tongue ȝael meant kindred. The Cymri (combrox) meant compatriots. May ȝaiveil and ȝael be connected? The obvious is sometime unseen by the eye that is searching for the obscure.

[3] Ripley, Appendix, D., p. 507.

[4] See Ripley, W. "The Races of Europe," p. 121. Nordic is the term used by Deniker. The Alpine race includes the Celtic wedge which split the Volcae into two divisions and passed westwards to the Channel between the quadrilateral of Lug. as described in the first chapter.

the Germans, Virchow, Kollmann and Ranke, as well; by the English (foremost among them by Dr. Beddoe), and by the most competent Itàlians."[5] Prior to 1860, the leading ethnologists agreed, in deference to classical texts, in affiliating the Celts of early history with the tall, blonde peoples of Northern Europe—the Nordic race of Deniker. Subsequent investigations have shown the fallacy of this, but the terms "Celtic race" still linger around the Gael, who were most indubitably part and parcel of the tall, blonde, long-headed Nordic race. Tacitus, who is, no doubt, recording the observation and inferences of his father-in-law, Agricola, tells us that when Agricola came as Governor to Britain in A.D. '78, the Brigantes, who had been in a great measure reduced to subjection, occupied the territory between the Humber and the Clyde. We have seen that a tribe bearing the same name is mentioned by Ptolemy as located in the south-east of Ierne, and the fugitive chief entertained by Agricola, as we have already mentioned, may have belonged to that tribe and taken refuge with his namesakes in North Britain. Agricola had also conducted a campaign against the Silures in Wales, and had previously seen much active service in Britain in subordinate commands. The statements of Tacitus are, therefore, entitled to great weight. He says:—"For instance, the ruddy hair and large limbs of the inhabitants of Caledonia demonstrate their German origin. The dark faces of the Silures (in South Wales and Monmouthshire), their generally curly hair, and the fact that Spain lies opposite to them, make one believe that the Spaniards of old times passed over and occupied these parts. The Britons, who are nearest to the Gauls, are also like them."[6]

Boadicea or Boudicca, Queen of the Iceni (Norfolk and Suffolk), bears a Latin name that comes very close in sound to Boadach or Buadach, often found as an epithet of Gaelic warriors, and meaning victorious. Dion Casseus describes her as follows:—"She was of large size, terrible of aspect, savage of countenance, harsh of voice, with a profusion of flowing

[5] Ripley, 126.

[6] Namque rutilæ Caledoniam habitantium comae, magni artus Germanicam originem adseverant. Silurum colorati vultus, torti plerumque crines. Agricola, c. 11.

yellow hair, which fell down to her hips, a large golden collar on her neck, a variegated flowing vest drawn close about her bosom, and a thick mantle fastened by a clasp or brooch, and a spear in her hand."[7]

A companion picture is to be found in Queen Méve of Connact, her predecessor in time by, perhaps, a century. She is thus described in the *Táin* :—" A beautiful pale, long-faced woman, with long flowing golden yellow hair, upon her a crimson cloak, fastened with a brooch of gold over her breast, a straight ridged *slegh* or light spear blazing red in her hand."

This was the ideal as well as the real type of beauty with the *filés* who composed the sagas. Edain, daughter of Etar, a Dedanann chief, " had two golden yellow tresses on her head, each of them plaited with four locks or strands, and a ball of gold on the point of each tress. The colour of that hair was like the flowers of the bog firs in summer, or like red gold immediately after receiving its coining." Cuculainn had yellow hair and blue eyes. In the description of the Gaelic chieftains by MacRoth in the *Táin*, nearly all are described as having yellow hair, and the men of Muirtheimne 3,000 blood red furious warriors, had " long, fair, yellow hair, and splendid bright countenances!" Some of the chieftains, however, are described as having black hair, which was not then held in dis-esteem as MacFirbis represents in later times.

" On the authority of old sayings of people learned in history," MacFirbis writes :—" The dark, the loud voiced, the contumelious, the talkative, the vociferous, the fierce, the unteachable, the slave, the liar, the churlish, and all who listen not to music or melody, the violators of covenants and laws, and the accusers of all are the descendants of the Firvolg, the Gaillians, the Liogmuine, and the Fir-Domnan; but mostly of the Firvolg *ut dictum*." If MacFirbis had weighed the evidence contained in our texts instead of listening to the " old sayings " of other folk, he would have corrected the ignorance of those old people.

Some of the bravest soldiers came from the stock of the Firvolce. Ferdiad was a Roland if Cuchulain was an Oliver.

[7] Ƀuaiṫ, victory, = Ƀuɒi ƀoaɒaċ or ƀoaɒaʒ = victorious. Muellenhoff has traced the presence of the Celtic tongue east of the Weser, and the Iceni, immigrating from the continent opposite, probably spoke Celtic of the Gaelic type. Deutsche Alterthumskunde, vol. II., map, Table I.

The Clanna Morna were as brave as the Clanna Baoiscne, better known as the Fianna of Finn, the son of Cumhal (Cool) and the grandson of Baoiscne (Bweesh-cne). Nor were black hair and blue eyes an obstacle to success in other fields of rivalry. Naoise (Neesh-e) was seen and loved by the cloistered Déirdre, and Diarmaid O'Duibhne carried off King Cormac's daughter from the betrothal feast of the implacable Finn himself.

Conaire Mor (100 B.C.) had curly yellow locks, and black pupils in blue eyes. Nial of the Nine Hostages mounted the enchanted stone at Tara in the year 370 A.D.

"Yellow as the Sobarche (St. John's Wort) was the yellow hair which was on the head of the son of Cairen," a Saxon *aditionelle* of the Ard Righ; his "one wife" being Mongfinn,[8] also a fair-haired lady, as the name indicates. From this time, it may be safely asserted that there was not a single Gaelic family without "ruadh," or red hair figuring constantly in its pedigree. The "dubh," or black-haired, were also conspicuous owing to the intermarriages between the Gael and the Firvolce. There were many "ingeana duibe" besides the Scotch lassie (ineen duv) who was wedded to Red Hugh O'Donnell.

Giraldus Cambrensis, who visited Ireland at the close of the 12th century, and spent two years there, says: "The men were majestic, but the other animals were small. The men were very tall and handsome of body, with ruddy complexions."[9]

The type is well exemplified in the portrait of Eoghan Ruadh O'Neill by the celebrated Dutch artist, Brugens. The colour of the hair is not decidedly red in the picture but approaching to it. It was painted whilst he was serving in Flanders, probably about the time he defended Arras, 1640, in command of an Irish regiment in the Spanish service, where he showed the characteristics attributed by Spenser to his fellow-countrymen: "Circumspect in their enterprises, very present in perils, great scorners of death." 'These be the

[8] mong, hair, and finn, fair.

[9] "Solis hominibus suam retenentibus majestatem—pulcherrimis et proceris corporibus coloratissimis vultibus." An engraving of it will be found in the Ulster Journal of Archæology, vol. iv.

men,' writes St. Leger to Henry VIII., 'that don't lightly abandon the field, but bide the brunt to the death.'"

Fynes Moryson says the cattle in Ireland were very little, "and only the men and the greyhounds of any great stature." Dymoke says, at the end of the 16th century, "Of complexion the Irish are clear and well favoured, both men and women tall and corpulent (*i.e.*, with large frames) bodies." O'Donovan collected many accounts of Irish giants. Amongst them were, I may mention, Morgan Kavanagh, Governor of Prague, in 1766, said to be the tallest man in Europe. His relatives were described by Professor Neimann, of Vienna, in 1844, as the tallest men in Germany. The O'Dowdas of Hy Fiachra "counted 24 castles on their extensive estate, many of which are still in existence, and they have a burial place appropriated to them in the Abbey of Moyne, where may be seen the gigantic bones of some of them, who have been remarkable for their great stature, one of them having exceeded seven feet in height. One of the family, William O'Driscoll, who died in 1851, is described as being in pitch of body like a giant. O'Donovan refers also to Big Magrath, whose skeleton is now in Trinity College, Dublin; to Florence Macarthy," taller by a head and shoulders than his fellows.[10]

We must not omit here a story from Holinshed. The Irishmen would never give quarter, and therefore whenever the Frenchmen took any of them they gelded them, and otherwise tormented them. After the surrender of Bulloign (Boulogne) (1544 A.D.), a large Frenchman on the other side of the haven braved and defied the English army, whereupon one Nicholas (Irish) did swim over the river and cut off the Frenchman's head, and brought it back over the river in his mouth, for which bold action he was bountifully rewarded.[11]

As to light hair and light eyes, the proportions per cent., as given by the Anthropometric Committee for 1892-3, are "Ireland, 47.4; Scotland, 46.3; England, 40.1; Wales, 34.60." The figures for Ireland, of course, take in the whole population, comprising many ethnic elements besides the Gaelic, *e.g.*,

[10] O'Donovan, Physical Characteristics of the Ancient Irish.—Ulst. Jour. Archæ., vol. vi., p. 101.

[11] Holinshed's Chronicle., I. 103. Cox Hist. Anglie, p. 277.

the Firvolce "and the dark-haired admixture from England, with concave noses in many cases." [12]

A distinctive feature of the Teutonic or Nordic race is its prominent or narrow nose. The association of tall stature with a narrow nose is so close as to point to a law. From the north of Europe, as we go south, the nose becomes flatter and more open at the wings. As regards the Irish, Beddoe writes: "The concave noses are far from being as common as is supposed. The really predominant form is the long, sinuous, and prominent, especially at the point. In Ireland, and in East and North England, the concave nose is only 18 per cent., while in Gloucestershire and in Denmark it is 20, and in Sweden, 26 per cent." [13]

Deniker says—The mean height of the races of Europe is never low; on the other hand the races of great stature are numerous. In some districts, especially in Bosnia, in Scotland, and in Ireland, it reaches m. 1·72, or even the incredible figure of m. 1·76, m. 1·78 in the counties of Perth and Berwick; and in Galloway the maximum of humanity.[14] Galloway is an extensive district in the south-west of Scotland, 70 miles long by 40 broad, comprised mainly in Wigtonshire. It owes its name to the fact that the inhabitants were called Goll-Gael or foreign Gael, a name equivalent to our "Sea-divided Gael," and applicable to the Gaelic Septs in Alba and the Hebrides.

Of the physical traits which betoken race, the head form is the most permanent. Pigmentation and stature are less reliable. The head form is ascertained by expressing the breadth in per-centage of the length from front to back. This is called the Cephalic index.[15] In Deniker's list of Cephalic

[12] See "The Irish People, their Height, Form, and Strength." E. Hogan, S.J., 1897.

[13] Beddoe "Races of Britain," 236. Mem. Anthrop. Soc., vol. iii., 238.

[14] Deniker "L'Anthropologie," 1898, vol. ix., 122. "Les Races de l'Europe," Note preliminaire.

[15] The general form of the skull or brain case is oval, but may be modified so as to become round and broad, or elongated and elliptical. These changes of form are indicated by the Cephalic or cranial index. The Cephalic index is ascertained by multiplying the breadth by 100 and dividing by the length, and two units are allowed for the difference between a bare skull and one with flesh and muscle. Retzius divided these skulls into long heads and broad heads. The former (dolichocephalic) where the index figure reached 79 inclusive, and all above that figure were classed as broadheads (brachycephalic). There are also sub-divisions or modifications of this system which do not require notice here.

indices, the Scotch Gael (Highlanders) head the list of long-heads at 76·3. The Irish, however, run them very close at 77·3, which figure an average taken from a greater number of the population would probably modify. The Gael thus fulfil all the conditions he lays down for membership of the great Nordic race, of which the following is an abridged summary:

The Nordic race is blonde, long-headed, of great height. We may call it the Nordic, because its representatives are grouped almost exclusively in the north of Europe. Its permanent traits or characteristics are the following:—It is very tall (average m. 1·73). The hair is blonde or often reddish (roussâtres), the eyes clear, mostly blue, the head long, dolichocephalic (index on living from 76 to 79), the skin white-rosy, the face long, with nose prominent and straight.

In this division he includes the Irish, except the inhabitants of the north-west of the island. It must be always borne in mind that in applying the results yielded by the statistical inquiries of anthropologists at the present day to the past, account must be taken of historical considerations. Fortune has dealt hard measure to the Gael. The greatness of the race is now attested by its ruins.[16]

[16] Deniker, ubi, supra, 128.

CHAPTER IV.

The Gael.

IN prehistoric as well as in historic times there have been periods of overflow from the Nordic populations to the South. This is traced in Germany in the Row Graves (Reihengräber) where the Nordic longheads are found buried side by side with their heads facing the rising sun. It is also traced far into France, where the older races are to be found in isolated areas of disfavour, mountainous, unfertile, or otherwise undesirable. Moreover, it was not by land only that this overflow took place. The emigrants went also by sea to found new homes in distant parts, and have left traces along the coast of France and around the mouths of the Loire. Notable amongst these were the Veneti whose confederation occupied the country around Vannes, the capital of Morbihan, on the south coast of Brittany. Cæsar wrote that he exterminated them, put the whole senate to death, and sold the rest into slavery. This, however, was not the case. Their race characteristics still remain to prove that it is easier to conquer than to exterminate. Morbihan is one of the "blondest" departments in France. Not much further south across the Bay of Biscay lay Brigantium, near Corunna, on an island adjacent to which was a great light-house mentioned by Orosius, fabled in aftertime to have been Breogan's Tower. There was also Brigantium (Briançon) in the Hautes Alpes and Brigantium (Bregenz), near Lake Constance. And we have seen that the Brigantes held the country between the Humber and the Clyde, and were planted in the South-east of Ireland. There is, therefore, no inherent improbability in the statement in our texts that the first coming of the Gael was from the North of Spain. They came as the allies, probably at the invitation, of the Firvolce to aid them to shake off the yoke of the Dedananns. It was in substance a rehearsal of the drama played 2,000 years afterwards by another section of the Nordic race—the Jutes, the Saxons, and the Angles.

The expansion of the Nordic race on the Continent was slow. It proceeded step by step—by infiltration, pressure and fighting. We do not propose to give details here, nor to open up the Celtic question which is enshrined in a voluminous literature. We shall confine ourselves to stating that the Celts were a powerful, valiant, and imperial race, and during the Hallstadt period stood in the forefront of civilisation and progress. Now Hallstadt was a great Celtic capital and emporium of trade in Upper Austria. In the tombs, over 1,000 in number, were found the most beautiful specimens of the industrial art of the period. This civilisation is characterised by the presence of iron employed largely in the manufacture of weapons. Bronze, however, was still predominant at first, and was gradually superseded by iron. Vases in bronze of a beautiful type, brooches, necklets, bracelets, and trinkets in gold abound. Ivory from Africa was used for the pommels of swords; glass was used to make small vases. A large trade was done in amber from the Baltic for which the rich products of the Mediterranean cities were given in exchange. There was no silver or coined money found in the tombs.

Montelius, according to his latest views, places the age of bronze in France and other Celtic nations between 2,000 and 850 B.C., and the Hallstadt period between 850 and 600 B.C.[1]

The advance of the Celts was triumphant. It is written in history, and cannot be reasonably doubted that they seized Galatia; spared Delphi; held Rome to ransom, and took possession of the fairest regions of Europe—the valleys of the Po, the Danube, the Loire, the Marne, and the Seine. They stopped at the Channel. The charms of Britain could not entice them to cross the narrow strait, and Erin had little to attract and much to terrify a people who, unlike the Nordic race, had never faced the perils of the sea, except whilst they were crossing the Crimean Bosphorus. The immigration of the Firvolce from the South was, as we have seen, by relays under various sub-denominations, The Nordic immigration was also gradual by relays of immigrants of the same stock. If we go forward 1000 years to the time of Cimbaeth—from 1700 to 750 B.C.—how do we find the Eponymi placed on the land? The clan of Lugaid, the son of Ith, who was the first

[1] L'anthopologie, xii., 620.

leader of the immigration to land in Erin, was located on the verge of the Southern Ocean, in Corca Luighe, a small territory lying between Kinsale and Bantry Bay. North of this lay the territory of the clan of Eber the Fair, the elder brother of Eremon. Next came Eremon. And finally, in the north-east, we find a nephew—Heber, the son of Ir. Leinster was occupied by the Gailléoin, a tribe of the Firvolce. Connacht was also occupied by other sub-denominations of Firvolce, notably by Firdomhnann and the Cathraige. Our texts contain no record of any struggle in which the clan of Ith was driven into an area of isolation and disfavour by a body of immigrants advancing from the North, as the O'Sullivans in after times were driven from the Golden Vein of Tipperary into the same region. The fate of the clan of Eber the Fair was decided at the battle of Geashill, near the Esker Riada, in the King's County. This is a long ridge of gravel hills, probably the moraine of a confluent glacier, which stretches from Dublin to Clarin Bridge, on Galway Bay, and is referred to frequently in our texts, as the dividing line between North and South, Conn's Half (Leaċ Ċuinn), and Eogan's Half (Leaċ Moga). From this time the clan of Ir and the clan of Eremon stand face to face in fierce antagonism, fighting for the hegemony. The struggle lasted for 800 years, and ended in 332 A.D., with the victory of the three Collas and the destruction of Emania, leaving the clan of Eremon not, indeed, absolute masters, but unquestionably the predominant power in Erin, and destined, apparently, in due process of social and political evolution to fuse into a nation the various ethnic elements under their sway, who now spoke the same language, shared in the same superstitions, and were known by a common name—the Gael.

Before presenting our readers with some figures relating to the period between 1700 and 750 B.C., we may state that we follow the chronology and figures found in the "Annals of the Kingdom of Erin" by the Four Masters, which were written between January, 1632, and August, 1636. These Annals are sometimes referred to as a compilation which at the present day is generally understood to mean "scissors and paste" work. Their task, however, was of a different character. "Eminent masters in antiquarian lore," as Colgan describes

them, they collected, as best they could, all the texts that could be procured in their time. They then examined them, compared them, criticised them, weighed the evidence, and delivered their judgments in the most valuable work which has come down to us in the Gaelic tongue. The Four Masters, following the Septuagint, present, on the whole, a more coherent and intelligible view than the annalists who adopt other systems. The distribution of time—the dates assigned to particular events—is largely regulated by the system of chronology adopted, and nothing but confusion can arise if the historian passes from one system to another. Moreover, we do not present the dates we now offer as reliable, and it is only by a very liberal construction of the terms that the dates B.C. may, perhaps, be called rough approximations.

The struggle between the tribes of Eremon, Eber the Fair, and Heber, the son of Ir, was long and obstinately fought. Though the race of Eber the Fair lost the battle of Geashill, they continued strong and powerful. According to the Four Masters, 53 kings reigned at Tara, counting joint reigns as one, from the coming of the Gael (1700 B.C.), to the alternate reigns of Aed Ruad, Dithorba, and Cimbaeth (730 B.C.), a period of 970 years. This period is distributable approximately as follows :—

PERIOD I.

1700 B.C. TO 970 B.C.

Kings.	Line of.	Years of Reign.
17	Eremon	438*
21	Eber the Fair	236
13	Ir	267
2	Ith	6
	(Interregnum of 7 years and broken years)	23
Total, 53	—	Total, 970

We add, for comparison, Periods II. and III.

PERIOD II.

From the accession of Aed Ruad (730 B.C.) to A.D. 1, there were 37 High-Kings.

*In this figure is reckoned the reign of Siorna Saoglach (the long-lived) for 150 years. Suggestions to account for this need not detain us here.

Kings.	Line of.	Years of Reign.
23	Eremon	459
8	Eber the Fair	82
5 & Macha (Queen)	Ir	189
0	Ith	0
Total, 36		Total, 730

PERIOD III.

From A.D. 1, to the coming of St. Patrick (432) there were 27 High-Kings.

Kings.	Line of.	Years of Reign.
20	Eremon	248
1	Eber the Fair	13
3	Ir	25
2	Ith	31
1	Cairbre Cinnceat	5
Total, 27		Total, 322

PERIOD IV.

From St. Patrick to Brian Boru (1002, A.D.) all were of the line of Eremon, with one or possibly two exceptions.

The "Annals of the Four Masters" during our first and second periods, are in the main confined to giving the name of each of the High Kings, the date of his accession, the length of his reign, and the manner of his death. A list containing the name, line and date of accession of each Ardrigh will be found in the Appendix. The bursting out of lakes, and the cutting down of woods, are also noticed in great detail. So also the innumerable battles which recur with the periodicity of astronomical events. More interesting events are also but very rarely noticed at some length. We shall give a few examples generally, in the words of the authors as translated by O'Donovan in his invaluable work, slightly abridged:

A.M. 3502 (1698, B.C.), Tea, the daughter of Lugaid, the son of Ith, whom Eremon brought home (*i.e.*, married) in Spain over the head of Odba, requested of Eremon as her bride gift (ᴛɪnɾᴄɾᴀ) a choice hill as she might select to be buried there. She selected Drum-Caoin, and from her it was called Tara.[2]

[2] This is one of the usual etymologies. It is more likely, we think, that it was called ᴅɾuɪm Tɪġ moɪɾ after the King's "great house" was built. After a time these words would be treated as one word, Tᴇmaɪɾ, and the last syllable shortened and elided with the genitive Tᴇm(aɪ)ɾaċ.

There were other Taras in Erin, all, we believe, residential, and occupied by chieftains. The houses were, no doubt, built in imitation of the King's "great house,"—like Bricrin's Mansion in Dun Rudraighe, near Lough-Brickland, in Down. "It must be remembered," writes Joyce, "that a *Teamhair* was a residence, and that all the *Teamhairs* had originally one or more forts, which, in case of many of them, remain to this day." [3]

A.M. 3580 (1620 B.C.) This was the seventeenth year above three score, of Tighernmas, as King over Erin. It was by him the following battles were gained over the race of Eber—the battle of Ele (Antrim), the battle of Lochmagh, the battle of Cuilard, in Magh Innis (Down); the battle of Cuil Fraechen, the battle of Magh Fecht, the battle of Commar, the battle of Cul-athguirt, in Seimhne, (Island Magee); the battle of Ard Neadh (Connacht); the battle of Carn Feradagh (Limerick); the battle of Cnamh Choill (Connacht); the battle of Cuil Feadha, the battle of Reabh, the battle of Congnaidhe, in Tuath Eabha (Sligo); the battle of Cluan Cuas in Teathbha (Teffia); the battle of Cluan Muirsge (Breffny); the two battles of Cuil, in Arget Ross (Kilkenny); the battle of Ele, the battle of Berra (Cork); seven battles at Lough Lughdhach (Lough Carrane, Kerry); two other battles at Arget Ross (Kilkenny); three battles against the Firvolce and the battle of Cuil Fobhair, against the Ernai (in Tyrone).

We give the foregoing details, not to enumerate the victories of Tighernmas, but as a specimen of the class of entries in the Annals which are very numerous, to show the tradition as to the social state of Erin in those days. We have no clue to the *casus belli* in any case or to the results which followed from these victories. If it be founded on fact, the record reveals to us the picture of a very active monarch, continually at war, striking blows with effect, north, south, east, and west, which, however, bore no permanent results.

The conclusion of this entry is more interesting.

"It was by Tighernmas that gold was first smelted in Erin, in Foithre Airthir Liffe (east of the Liffey). It was by an artificer of the Fera-Cualann (Wicklow). It was by Tighernmas that goblets and brooches were first covered with gold and silver in Erin. It was by him that clothes were dyed purple, blue, and green. It was in his reign that the three black rivers of Erin burst forth. At the end of this year he died, with three quarters of the men of Erin about him, at the meeting of Magh Slecht, in Breifne, at the worshipping of Crom Cruach, which was the chief idol of adoration in Erin. This happened on the eve of Samhain (Hallow Eve) precisely. It was from the genuflections that the men of Erin made about Tighernmas that the plain was named."

[3] Joyce's Irish Place Names, First Series, 283.

The statement in the Annals is, probably, taken from the versified Dindshenchus, of Magh Slecht, in the Book of Leinster, of which we give a few staves, translated by Kuno Meyer as follows:—

There came
Tighernmas, the Prince of Tara, yonder
On Hallowe'en with many hosts
A cause of grief to them was the deed.
They did evil;
They beat their palms; they pounded their bodies,
Wailing to the demon who enslaved them,
They shed falling showers of tears
Around Crom Cruach;
There the hosts would prostrate themselves,
Though he put them under deadly disgrace,
Their name clings to the noble plain,
Except one-fourth of the keen Gaels
Not a man alive . . .
Escaped without death in his mouth.

The prose Dindshenchus being more modern than the verse, has, as usual, further particulars. We quote from Stokes' translation in the *Revue Celtique* of the Rennes text:

"And they all prostrated before him (*i.e.*, Crom Chroic), so that the tops of their foreheads and the gristle of their noses and the caps of their knees and the ends of their elbows broke, and three-quarters of the men of Erin perished at these prostrations. Whence Magslecht, 'Plain of Prostration.'"[4] It is more likely, we think, that the plain was named from the Taim ꝑlecht or plague stroke. Slecht,[5] in the sense of genuflection, or prostration, is connected, probably, with "flecto," and is post-Christian. Its older sense was to cut down, and the cutting off of a large part of the population was more likely to give a name to the plain than the supposed genuflections or prostrations. There is no mention of child sacrifice in either the versified or prose Dindshenchus on this occasion. But we may feel sure that Tighernmas and the men of Erin, if they approached Crom Cruach as suppliants for help, brought with them as the usage was, gifts more appetising and acceptable than prostrations, tears, and genuflections.

The nucleus of this legend must be sought in the genuine tradition that the African Fomorians exacted, as we have

[4] *Revue Celtique*, xvi., 53. [5] Sligim—Windisch *Wörterbuch*.

already stated, a tribute of children from the Firvolce, to be delivered every Hallowe'en between the rivers Drobhaois and Erne. This tithe or fixed proportion of all kinds of produce was a Phœnician usage, and was paid annually by Carthage to the mother city in Asia, and there can be very little doubt that some of these little children were sacrificed to Melkarth according to the Carthaginian ritual. The district of Magh Slecht was not occupied by the Gael. The Four Masters state expressly that it was in the possession of the "Sen Tuatha"—the old tribes—who may have been a colony of these Fomorians dwelling in an area of isolation. It was by them the Masraidhe that Conall Gulban was killed in A.D. 464. Moreover, this statement of the prostration of the men of Erin around Tighernmas may well be doubted. Giolla Coeman, + 1070, in "Erin Ard," refers to the death of Tighernmas and a slaughter of thousands by the plague, and says nothing about Magh Slecht or Crom Cruach, and Cormac MacCuilenain (+908) says nothing about it where we should expect to find a reference to it. We find the following in the glossary:—"Teamleuchta, *i.e.*, Tamshleacta, *i.e.*, a plague that cut off the people in that place, *i.e.*, in a great mortality, during which the people used to go into the plains that they might be in one place before death, because of their burial by those whom the mortality did not carry off; and Teamleachta (plague-grave) nencupatur." The story in the Book of Leinster is, we think, a subsequent addition, afterwards, as is usually the case, equipped with copious and minute details in the prose Dindshenchus. If, however, we were to admit the truth of the story told about the prostration of Tighernmas, there is no reason for holding that Crom Cruach became the chief idol of Erin. If he became the national god he would not have been called persistently Crom Cruach (Bloody Crom), and he would have been installed, with a well-endowed priesthood, at Tara, and Tlachtga, Tailtin and Usnach. This was not so. The god elements proved decisively by the terrible mortality that they were mightier than Crom, that their power was greater, their protection more valuable, and, above all, that their anger was more to be feared.

A.M. 3664. This was the first year of Eocaid Edghadhach as king over Erin. He was called Eocaid Edghadhach because it was by him

that variety of colour was first put on clothes in Erin to distinguish the honour of each by his raiment, from the lowest to the highest. Thus was the distinction made between them—one colour in the clothes of slaves, two in the clothes of soldiers, three in the clothes of goodly heroes or young lords of territories (lords' sons ?), [four in the clothes of hospitallers, five in the clothes of lords] of territories, six in the clothes of ollavs, seven in the clothes of kings and queens.[6]

A.M. 3922. Ollamh Fodhla (Ollav Fola). Eocaid was his first name, and he was called Ollamh Fodhla because he was first a learned Ollamh, and afterwards King of Fodhla, *i.e.*, Erin.

Gilla Caomain calls him "King of the Learned" in "Yellow-haired" Erin. The Annals of Clonmacnoise, which have reached us only in Mageoghan's trasnlation, state:—

He was the first king of the land that ever kept the great feast at Tara, called Feis Tarach, which feast was kept once a year, whereunto all the king's friends and dutiful subjects came yearly, and such as came not were taken for the king's enemies and to be prosecuted by the law and the sword as undutiful to the State. This king was so well learned and so much given to the favour of learning that he builded a fair palace at Tara only for the learned sort of the realm to dwell in, at his own peculiar cost and charges, of whom he was so much again beloved and reverenced that ever after his house, stock, and family were by them in their rhymes and poems preferred before any others of their equals of the Irish nation. Six of his children succeeded him, one after another, as kings of this land, without any other coming betwixt them, which good never happened to no other before him. He died at Tara a famous king—rich, learned, wise, and generally well-beloved of all men, and reigned forty years.[7]

Ollamh Fodhla was of the line of Ir, and he was succeeded, as stated, by six of that race in succession.

A.M. 4020, B.C. 1180. This was the first year of Sirna, son of Dian. It was he wrested the government of Tara from the Ulta, *i.e.*, the race of Ir. An attack was made by him on the Fomorians in the territory of Meath. It was by him, moreover, was fought the battle of Moin Troghaidhe, in Ciannachta (in Meath ?). When Lugair, the son of Lugaidh, of the race of Eber, brought in a force of Fomorians into Erin with their king, Ceasarn by name, Sirna drew the men of Erin to make battle against them at Moin Troghaidhe. As they were fighting a plague was sent upon them, of which Lugair and Ceasarn perished, with their people, and a countless number of the men of Erin with them. Sirna Saoghlach (the long-lived) reigned 150 years.

[6] The law was known as the "Ill-brecta." It will be observed that there is no mention here of Druids or pagan priests. The words in brackets are from the Gaelic text. They are omitted by inadvertence from O'Donovan's translation.

[7] Murphy, S.J., *Ann. Clon.* (Mageoghan) 34.

This patriarchal figure is, probably, an effort of chronology, to bring the system of the Four Masters into harmony with the Domestic Annals from which the lists of the High-Kings were taken. Gilla Caomain, who followed the Hebrew reckoning, says:—"Sirna held the reigns of power for thrice seven noble years."

A study of the figures given above in our first and second periods will reveal the steady progress of the line of Eremon. At the commencement of the second period the race of Eber was beaten. The contest thenceforth lay between the Irians (Clanna Rury) and the Eremonians. Emhain (Emania) was the capital of the Irians. It is now known as Navan Fort, and is situated about two miles west of Armagh. The area of it was about twelve acres. It was elliptical in shape, and surrounded by a fosse twenty or thirty feet deep, and a high embankment. Within this space is an elevated spot, somewhat removed from the centre, on which the central dun, a dun within a dun, is supposed to have stood. The foundation of Emania is assigned by the Four Masters to Macha of the Red-hair during the period between 660 and 653 B.C. Tighernach, who followed the Hebrew reckoning, assigned it to the year 307 B.C. M. D'Arbois visited the place in 1881, and has given an admirable description and plan of it in the *Revue Celtique* (xiv., p. 1). He observes that "Some persons will think the dimensions of Navan Fort modest, but the great banquetting hall, called the 'Craobh Ruadh' appears to have been situated outside the fortress. The name is preserved in the townland of *Creeve Roe*, and on an adjoining farm is a moat known as the King's Stables." Emania continued to be the house of the Kings of Ulster for 1,000 years, until A.D. 332, when it was razed to the ground by the three Collas.[8]

We may pause here to refer to an oft-quoted entry in the Annals of Tighernach, who was Abbot of Clonmacnoise, and died A.D. 1088. He is usually referred to as the most reliable of our chroniclers, a reputation to which his title as regards pre-Christian times is very questionable, and which he owes in a large degree to the meaning that has been attached to an entry in his Annals, which is as follows:—

[8] The *Annals of Clonmacnoise*, Murphy, S.J., p. 41, assign the foundation to 450 B.C., and state that the Kings of Ulster had their palace there for 855 years thereafter.

In the 18th year of Ptolemy (*i.e.*, B.C., 307) commenced to reign in Emania, Cimbaid, the son of Fintan, who reigned 28 years. At that time Echu the Victorious, the father of Ugaine, is said by others to have reigned in Tara, although we have written before, that Ugaine reigned [then]. All the *monumenta*, *i.e.*, records of the Scoti were "incerta" before Cimbaith.[9]

The meaning usually attached to *incerta* here is "uncertain," "unreliable." O'Donovan says:—

We may safely infer from the words of Tighernach that the ancient historical documents (*monumenta*) existing in his time were all regarded by him as uncertain before the time of Cimbaith, whose reign he fixes to the year B.C. 305 (*recte* 307). His significant words, "omnia monumenta Scotorum usque Cimbaith incerta erant," inspire a feeling of confidence in this compiler which commands respect for those facts he has transmitted to us, even when they relate to the period antecedent to the Christian era."[10]

So Todd:

I believe the writer only meant to say that the historical records relating to the period before Cimbaith are not absolutely to be relied on.[11]

So, too, Hyde says:—

He means that from that time forwards, he at least considered that the substance of Irish history, as handed down to us, might, to say the least of it, be more or less relied on.[12]

The name of Echu, the father of Ugaine, does not appear in any known series of the Kings of Tara, or the Provincial Kings. We think Tighernach meant nothing more by *incerta* than "unsettled," a meaning which the word frequently bears, and which the context indicates to be the meaning intended here. Tighernach was not considering the credibility of early Irish history, but simply the question whether Ugaine or his father was at the particular epoch (307 B.C.) the ruling monarch at Tara, or, perhaps, to narrow the question still more, whether Echu had died before that year or not. This was the chronological uncertainty to which he referred.[13] It was not

[9] Stokes' *Revue Celtique*, xiv., 194.

[10] *Four Masters*, xlv.

[11] O'Curry *MS.*, 518.

[12] Lit. Hist., 24.

[13] Codex Palatinus. Todd Lec. Ter., iii., 254, where a valuable and learned study on Irish Chronology will be found.

the happening of the events recorded that was uncertain, but the precise time and sequence in which they happened.[14] We may be perfectly certain that Tighernach believed with unquestioning faith in Partholan and Nemed, in Balor of the Blows and Lugh Lamhfodha, in the spells and charms of wizards, and the revelations of fairy lovers, and in many other soft and fond amenities that live no longer in the unfaith of reason. The Higher Criticism was not rocked in its cradle by the placid Shannon in the lonely cloisters of Clonmacnoise.

[14] Tighernach had no doubt before him, and was referring to Eocaid Ua Floinn's Chronological Poems, in which the Kings of Emania are given in "settled" chronological order from Cimbaith to Fergus Fogha, who was overthrown by the Collas.

CHAPTER V.

Deirdre.

AEDH RUADH Dithorba and Cimbaeth were first cousins. They made an agreement that each of them was to rule seven years alternately in succession. Three times seven sureties were pledged between them, seven wizards to revile them for ever; or seven poets to lampoon and satirize and upbraid them; or seven chiefs to wound them and burn them unless each man gave up his reign at the end of seven years, having preserved true government. Each of them reigned three times in his turn during sixty-six years. Aed the Red was the first of them to die. He was drowned in Eas aedha Ruaidh, and his body was carried into the Sidh there, whence were named Sidh Aeda and Eas Ruaidh. He left no children except one daughter, whose name was Macha, the Red-haired. She demanded the Kingdom in due time, when her turn came. Cimbaeth and Dithorba said they would not give Kingship to a woman. A battle was fought between them. Macha routed them.[1] Her claim was probably well founded. Tacitus tells us of Boudicea that the Iceni chose her as their generalissimo. "With Boudicca as leader, for the Iceni make no distinction between the sexes in their rulers, all took up arms.[2]

Macha was sovereign for seven years. Meanwhile Dithorba had fallen. He left five sons, who demanded the Kingship when Macha's term was ended. Macha said she would not give it to them, "for not by favour did I obtain it," said she, "but by force on the battlefield." A battle was fought between them. Macha routed the sons of Dithorba, who "left a slaughter of heads" before her, and went into exile into the wilds of Connacht. Macha then took Cimbaeth as her husband and leader of her troops. She pursued the sons of Dithorba to Connacht, made prisoners of them, and brought them all in

[1] From "The Wooing of Emer," Kuno Meyer. Archeol. Rev. I., 151.

[2] Boudicca generis regii femina duce (Neque enim sexum in imperiis descernunt), sumpsere universi bellum. *Agricola.* C. 16. There was also a queen of the Brigantes, Cartismandua.

one chain to Ulster. The men of Ulster wanted to kill them. "No," said she, "for that would be the ruin of my true government. But they shall be thralls, and shall dig a rath round me, and that shall be the eternal seat of Ulster for ever!" Then she marked out the dun for them with her brooch, viz., the golden pin on her neck; *i.e.*, Imma muin Macha: a brooch on the neck of Macha; hence the name Emain Macha. Such is the legend.

Macha was slain by Reachtaidh Righdhearg (of the red forearm), of the line of Eber, who, after a reign of two years, was slain by Ugaine Mor, of the line of Eremon, in revenge for his foster mother, Macha Mongruadh. Ugaine was the son of Eocaid Buadach (the victorious), and is represented by our texts to have had 25 children, 23 sons and two daughters, amongst whom he divided Erin into 25 shares. This arrangement lasted for three hundred years to the time of Eocaid Feidleach, the father of Méve. It is also stated that he extended his empire to the Toirrian, *i.e.*, the Mediterranean Sea. The last of these statements is certainly not true, and the first must refer to some apportionment of food rents and dues from local chieftains, if it has any foundation in fact.

The political divisions of Erin have been various according to the will of the monarchs. However, they never totally abrogated the five-fold division. During the time of the Gael there were five partitions—(1) between Eremon and Eber, (2) between Cearnma and Sobhairee, (3) by Ugaine Mor into 25 districts, (4) the re-establishment of the fifths by Eocaid Feidleach, (5) between Conn of the Hundred Battles, and Eogan Mor, King of Munster.

Of the children of Ugaine only two left issue surviving—Laegaire Lorc and Cobhthac Cael Breagh. From these are descended, according to O'Donovan, all that survive of the race of Eremon, the families of Leinster, from Laegaire Lorc, the families of Ulster and Connacht, from Cobhthac Cael Breagh. This Ugaine was he who exacted oaths by all the elements visible and invisible, from the men of Erin in general, that they would never contend for the sovereignty of Erin, with his children or his race. After a reign of forty years he was slain by his half-brother, Badhbhchadh, who was slain a day and-a-half after by Laogaire Lorc. Laogaire Lorc, after a

reign of two years, fell by Cobhthach Cael Breagh, at Carman, (Wexford), and Cobhthach, after a reign of three years, fell by Labhraidh the mariner, great grandson of Ugaine, at Dinn Righ on the Barrow with thirty kings about him. A large body of Saga, much of which is now lost, was collected about Ugaine, and his sons and great grandsons.[3]

In 288 B.C., Rury the Great, of the line of Ir, became High King. He was ninth in descent from Ollamh Fodhla, and having reigned for seventy years, died at Airgeat-gleann in Monaghan (218 B.C.). His descendants were known as the Clanna Rury. His son, Breasal, reigned for eleven years (209-198); his son, Congal Claroineach, reigned fifteen years (183-168); his grandson, Fachtna Fathac, reigned sixteen years (158-142 B.C.). His great grandson, Concobar, the son of Fachtna, ruled in Emania for sixty years, according to Tighernach, but did not attain to the High Kingship. Concobar's mother was Ness or Nessa, a daughter of Eocaid Salbuide (of the yellow heel) of Connact. From the year 142 B.C. to 332 A.D. the Clanna Rudhraidhe gave only three kings to Tara, who ruled altogether only twenty-five years. Fachtna Fathac (the wise) was overthrown by Eocaidh Feidleach, sixth in descent from Labhraid Lorc of the line of Eremon. Fergus, the son of Leide, then became King of Ulster, and on his death, Fergus Mac Roigh (Roy) the son of Fachtna, uncle to Concobar, became King in his stead. Fergus then married Nessa, the widow of his brother, Fachtna, and was, our texts say, by her contrivance, displaced in favour of Concobar, her son by Fachtna, for whom possibly he may have been ruling merely as *quasi*-regent. Eocaidh Feidleach ruled at Tara for twelve years, and died there in the year 130 B.C. He had issue three sons known as the "Three Finns," and, as some relate, six daughters, of whom Medhbh (Méve) was the most celebrated. He abolished the arrangement made by Ugaine Mor, which we have mentioned, and restored the pentarchy. Fergus the son of Leide, became King of Ulster

[3] All Leinster families of the race of Eremon are descended from Labraidh, the mariner, with the single exception of O'Nolan, which is descended from Cobhthach. The following are the principal family names, viz.:—O'Connor Failghi, O'Cavanagh, O'Toohill, O'Byrne, MacGilla Patrick or Fitzpatrick, O'Dunn, O'Dimasaigh or Dempsey, O'Dwyer, O'Ryan, and all the septs that trace their origin to any of these names. The chief part of the Leinster clans are descended from Cathair Mor.—Keating O'Mahony, p. 255.

on the death of Fachtna. The two Munsters were ruled by Deaghaidh, the son of Sen, and his relative Tighernach Tedhbannach, and Leinster by Rossa Ruadh, the son of Fergus. Connact, he apportioned, says Keating, into three parts, between three chieftains—Fidach, Eocaidh Alat, and Tinni, all three of the race of the Firvolce. Some time after Eocaidh went into Connact, and the three Kings came to meet him. He asked them for a site to build a King's house[4] in Connact. Eocaidh Alat and Fidach answered "that they would give him no such site, but that they would send him his rent to Tara." Tinni, on the contrary, agreed to give a site. Eocaidh then gave his daughter Méve as wife to Tinni, and a King's house was built within the rath at Cruachan,[5] in Roscommon. On the death of Tinni, who was slain at Tara by Monuder, also calledMacCeact, Méve then ruling over all Connact, took to her as second husband, Oilioll, the son of Ross Ruadh of Leinster. Synchronists tell us Méve was contemporary with Cleopatra, and some say she was the original of Spenser's Queen Mab. It was whilst Méve and Oilioll reigned at Cruachan, and Concobar was King at Emania, that the hegemony passed decisively from the line of Ir, and the race Eremon marched forward to the position which they occupied from the time of Niall of the Nine Hostages onward. The contest is the subject of the celebrated Saga or epopee of the "Cows of Cuailgne."—Táin bo Cuailnge, which we shall refer to as the Táin. The ostensible pretext or cause of this war was, as usually happens, a very insignificant part of the motives which brought about the invasion of Ulster. The origin is usually referred to the murder of the sons of Usnach, to explain which we must return to King Cormac and Emania. We find in our texts a very full and very reliable description of the buildings. In the King's house there were three times fifty rooms and the walls were made of red yew, and there were nine partitions from the fire in the centre of the house to the wall, and thirty feet the height of each partition. The King's room was in the front of the house, and was large enough for thirty warriors. It was ornamented with silver and bronze and carbuncles and precious stones, so that day and

[4] *King's house.*—This meant a dun or fort, a place of arms in their country.

[5] Rathcroghan, in Roscommon, is eight miles from Castlerea station.

night were equally light therein. A gong of silver hung behind the King suspended from the roof-tree, and when he struck it with his silver wand with three golden apples all the men of Ulster were silent. All the valiant warriors found space in the King's house, and no man pressed on another. In it were held great and numerous gatherings of every kind, and wonderful pastimes, games, heroes performing their feats, poets chanting their lays, and harp and timpans giving forth melodious strains to the touch of skilled musicians. These warriors were the famous Red Branch Knights. "There were," says Keating, "three orders of champions then co-existent in Erin, and neither before them nor since their time were there found any of the children of Golamh, who were taller, more powerful, hardier, braver, or more expert in feats of valour and chivalry than they, for the Fianna of Leinster were not to be compared with them. The first order of these was composed of the heroes and Knights of the Red Branch under Concobar. [Irians except Cuchulain.] The second was formed of the Gamhanraidhe (Gowanree) of Irrus Domnonn, under Oilioll Finn (Firvolce); and the third was composed of the Clanna Degaidh or Ernaeans in West Munster, under Curoi MacDare (Eremonians)." Among the most celebrated of the Red Branch we may name Cuchulain, Fergus MacRoigh (Roy), Conall Cearneach, Leagaire, Buadach, Celtchar the son of Uithecair Dubhtach Dael Uladh, and Naoise (Neeshe), Ainle, and Ardán, the three sons of Usnach.[6] Concobar had three houses—the Craobh Ruadh (Royal or Red Branch), Teite Brec (Speckled or "Bracced" Court) and the Craobh Derg (Crimson Branch). In the Red Court were kept the spoils of the enemy. In the Royal Court sat the Kings. In the Speckled Court were kept the spears, the shields, and the swords. The reason they put their arms away from them in one house was that at everything harsh they heard in the banqueting-hall, if not arranged on the spot, each man arose against the other, and hence their arms were taken from them into the Teite Brec. This is the account in the Book of Leinster.[7] Keating makes a very

[6] Ferdiad, described as a pillar of the Gael in the Táin, was of the Firvolce of Irrus Domnann and Daniel O'Connell was of the Degadean or Ernean tribe, of the line of Eremon, who had migrated from Ulster into Kerry.

[7] O'Curry, M.C.," I., 333.

necessary addition—a fourth house for the wounded—the Broin-bherg, House of Sorrow (p. 271).[8]

"The Story of Déirdre and the Murder of the Sons of Usnach Down Here."

The most pathetic of the three sorrows of story-telling

(Trí Truaga na Sgéaluigeachta).

Once upon a time, after Concobar became King, Felimid, the King's tale-teller, made a feast at Emania for the King and many Knights of the Red Branch.[9] Felimid's wife was present attending to her guests and enjoying "the gentle music of the musicians, the songs of the bards, and the tales of the learned, who read the things written on flags and books." She was then *enceinte*, and nearing her confinement, and it chanced as she was retiring, when the revelry was at its height, that the unborn child shrieked from her womb. This was an ominous event of high import, portending either good or evil to the men of Ulad. Cathbad, the King's wizard, who was present at the feast, was at once consulted, and went out to the borders of the rath to observe and scrutinize the clouds, and the position of the stars, and the age of the moon. On his return he announced that misfortunes and woes would come to the men of Ulad on account of the yellow-haired girl that had just been born. The heroes of the Red Branch bade him slay her without delay. "Let it not be so done," said the King, "agreeable is the appearance and the laugh of the infant. It were a pity to quench her life. I do not praise the committing of a base deed in the hope of appeasing the anger

[8] When the Red Branch Knights came to the Palace every summer to be exercised in feats of arms they were lodged in a great house *near Emain*, called the *Craobh Ruadh*, commonly Englished the Red Branch, from which the whole body took their name. But, according to an old glossary, Ruadh means here not "red," but "royal." But, the designation "Red Branch," which is the usual sense, is too well established to be displaced. The name of this house is also preserved, for "*Creeveroe*" is still the name of a townland near Navan Fort. So far as we can judge from old tales, the Craobh Ruadh appears to have been built of wood, with no earthen rampart around it, which explains why the present townland of Creeveroe contains no large fort like that of Emain. Joyce Soc. Hist. II., 90.

[9] There are many versions of this famous tale. The more ancient are brief, and were undoubtedly intended, as Hyde points out, to be supplemented and filled out by the reciter. We have followed his version in the Literature, which is given more completely in Zeitscrift für Celt Philol. II., 138.

of the power of the elements. I take her under my protection now, and shall make her my one wife and gentle Consort. I give the men of Erin the sureties of the sun and the moon, that any one destroying her now or again, shall not live nor last if I survive." Then Fergus MacRoy, Conall Cearnach, and the heroes rose up and said, "King, right is thy judgment. Let it be thy will that is done." Cathbad named the child, "Déirdre," which is taken to mean "alarm," and until she was seven years old, she was brought up with the other children of Emania, amongst whom were the three sons of Usnach, the King's first cousins. She was then placed in a dwelling apart with the windows opening out at the back on a fair orchard and garden, with a stream of pure water purling softly through it. The windows on the front were closed up, and she no longer saw the grassy lawn, and the champions' field, and the heroes at their feats of activity. Lavercán, the gossiper (*bancainte*), her tutor, and her nurse were the only persons allowed to see Déirdre. "Daughter," said Lavercán, "you have not seen the boys on the green of Emania since you were seven years old, and that is now seven years ago." "Seven bitter years," said Déirdre, "since I beheld the delight of the green and the playing of the boys, and surely, too, Naoisi [Neeshe] surpassed all the youth of Emania." "Naoisi, the son of Usnach," said Lavercán, "Naoisi, is his name, as he told me," said Déirdre, "but I did not ask whose son he was." "As he told you?" said Lavercán. "As he told me," said Déirdre, "when he made a throw of a ball by a mis-cast backward, transversely over the heads of the band of maidens that were standing on the edge of the green, and I rose from amongst them all, till I lifted the ball and delivered it to him, and he pressed my hand joyously." "He pressed your hand, girl?" asked Lavercán. "He pressed it lovingly, and said that he would see me again, but it was difficult for him, and I did not see him since until yesterday, and, oh! gentle nurse, if you wish me, if you wish me to be alive, take a message from me to him, and tell him to come and visit me, and talk to me to-night secretly." As became a true Knight of the Red Branch, Naoisi, with the brown-black hair and the skin as white as snow, did not fail to appear at the trysting hour. Accompanied by his brothers, Ainle and Ardán, and 150 champions, he

eloped with Déirdre to Alba, where they were hospitably received by the King. Cormac was filled with fury and what the bards call jealousy, and meditated revenge. He induced Naoisi and his brothers to return to Emania on the guarantee of Fergus MacRoy, Cormac Conlingeas, his own son, and Dubthac Dael Ulad, who pledged themselves that no harm should befall them. Déirdre warned them, but in vain, not to return, and not to trust the king. On their arrival the three sons of Usnach were treacherously slain by Cormac's order. At their burial Déirdre went to the tomb and dishevelled her hair, and sang the lays of lamentation—

That I should live after Naosi
Let no man on earth imagine.
Oh, man that diggest the tomb,
And that pullest my darling from me,
Make not the grave too narrow,
I shall be beside the noble ones.

The most pathetic of the lays, and the most beautiful lyric in Gaelic, perhaps in any language, is her farewell to Alba. In unstudied tenderness and delicacy it cannot be surpassed. Déirdre's pity for the sorrow of the other love, the Jarl's daughter, touches a very deep chord in the human heart, and is, so far as we know, unique in literature.

DÉIRDRE'S FAREWELL TO ALBA.

I.

Sóraiḋ soir go hAlbain uaim,
Maiṫ raḋarc a cuan 'sa glenn;
Mur mbíoḋ mic Uisniġ ag seilg
Aeiḋinn suiḋe ós leirg a benn.

II.

Lá dá raiḃ maiṫe Alban ag ól,
Is mic Usniġ dár ċóir cin,
D'inġin Iarla Dúna Treóin
Do ṫuc Naeise póg gan ḟis.

III.

Do ċuir ċuice eilid ḃaeṫ
Ag allaiḋ, Is laeġ re a coir;
Is do ġaḃ sé ċuice air cuairt,
Ag fillaḋ ó ṡluaġ Inḃer Noir.

IV.

Mar do ċualaḋ mise sin
  Línas mo ċinn lán don éd,
Cuirios mo ċurċán air tuinn,
  'S ba cuma liom bás nó ég.

V.

Lenadar mise air a tsnáṁ
  Ainnle is Ardán nár' ċan brég,
Do ḟilledar mé a steaċ
  Dís do ċuirfaḋ caṫ air ċéud.

VI.

Do ṫuc Naeise briaṫair fír
  'S do luig fo ṫrí i ffiaḋnuis arm
Naċ ccuirfaḋ ormsa gruaim
  go tteiġ uaim air ṡluaġ na marḃ.

VII.

Uċ! dá ccluineaḋ sisi anoċt
  Naeise ḃeiṫ fai ḃrat a ccré,
Do ġuilfeaḋ sí go beaċt,
  'S do ġuilfinn-sa fo seċt lé.

VIII.

Ca h-ingnaṁ ċin agam féin
  Air Criċ Alban fo réiḋ sód;
Ba slán mo ċéile 'na mesg,
  Fa liom féin a h-eiċ 'sa h-ór.[10]

I.

Farewell eastward to Alba from me,
Goodly the sight of her havens and glens,
When the sons of Usnach used to be hunting,
Delightful to sit on the slopes of her hills.

II.

One day when Alba's chiefs were feasting,
And Usnach's sons to whom love was fitting,
To the daughter of the Jarl of Dun Trene,
Naoise gave a kiss "unknownst."

[10] This text is from Irische Texte, 2nd Series, p. 116 (Stokes). Our translation is based on the translation there, but we have made some changes for which that eminent scholar is not responsible.

III.

He sent her a frisking doe,
A hind with a fawn at her feet,
And he went to her on a visit,
Coming back from the hosting at Inverness.

IV.

When I heard that myself
My head filled full of jealousy,
I shoved my little boat out on the waves,
All equal to me was death (from grief) or drowning.

V.

They followed me out swimming,
Ainle and Ardán, who never lied,
[They spoke comfortable words about Naoise, and pacified her.]
They turned me homewards,
The twain that would fight a hundred.

VI.

Naoise pledged a true word,
Thrice he swore before sword and spear (arm)
That he would never cause me grief
Until he went from me on the hosting of the dead.

VII.

Ochone! if she heard to-night
That Naoise was in his shroud in the clay
She would weep unceasingly,
And I should weep sevenfold with her.

VIII.

What wonder if there is love within me,
For the land of Alba where the way (of life) is smooth,
Safe was my husband within it,
Its steeds and its gold were mine.

Déirdre, according to our text, after singing the lays of lamentation, leaped into the grave on Naoise's neck and died forthwith. And she was buried with the sons of Usnach, and their flagstone was raised over their grave, and their names were written in Ogham, and their lamentation rites were celebrated. Thus far the tragic tale of the sons of Usnach.

The greatest insult that could be offered to a Gaelic champion was to violate his guarantee. Fergus and Cormac Conlingeas, with their followers, rose up against the King and burned Emania. They were, however, afterwards defeated and compelled to fly to Connact, where they were welcomed by Méve and Oilioll.[11]

Then commenced the long war between Concobar of Ulster and Méve of Connact, in which she was aided by chieftains and champions from all the provinces of Erin. The events of this war form the subject matter of a cycle of Sagas, commonly known as the Red Branch Cycle, in which we follow the fortunes of the bravest of the Gael, Cuchulainn.

Setna killed Rolecthaid at Rathcruachain whilst he was under the guarantee of Feacha.

Four years were reigned by Setna the Tall,
Fell the King by his great son [Feacha],
Forgave not the son the dreadful deed
To his father his being outraged.—G. Coemain Erin Ard.

[11] Fergus sings in the Tain :

ıſ me ꞇuıꞃʒʟaım na ſʟuaʒu ſaıꞃ,
ʟuaʒ mo ṙaꞃaıġꞇe ɒ'Uʟꞇaıb.

It is I that gathered the forces eastward
In revenge for my dishonour by the Ultonians.

CHAPTER VI.

CUCHULAINN.

"THE death of Cuchulainn, the bravest hero of the Gael. . . Seven years was his age when he received arms; seventeen years his age when he was behind the Cows of Cuailgne; twenty-seven years his age when he died."[1] Such is the entry in Tighernach, at the date A.D. 1, apparently. The bravest of the brave (Setanta was his first name), was the son of Sualtam, of the line of Eremon, who was chieftain of Muirtheimne. This was the level land of Louth, through which flows the river Dee, on which now stands the town of Ardee. Sualtam was married to Dechtire, Concobar's sister, and had his dun and great house and pillar ("Temair and Coirthech") on a hill about one mile from Dundalk. The mound, which is now all that remains of it, is still forty feet in perpendicular height, is circular, and has an area on top of half an acre. The central dun was enclosed by an outer rampart, which is still, in some parts which remain, thirty feet high. The area within the rampart is over two acres, and the dun, subsequently named Dun Dealgan, is now known as the Moat of Castletown. Louth was at this time included in Ulster, and Dun Dealgan, (Dundalk) was a frontier fort of the first importance. It commanded the entrance to the Moyry Pass, four miles away to the north —the only passage to Armagh on the north, except round the Carlingford coast. The road to Armagh (Slighe Midluachra) from Tara ran through this pass, as the railway to Belfast does at the present time, passing through the wooded district known as the Fews (Feadha). On the left of this highway rises Sliev Gullion (Sliabh Cuilinn) [1,893 feet], on the top of which is a cairn, which legend says was piled up over the grave of Cualgni, the son of Breogan. By this cairn a watch was kept in the time of Concobar, as a defensive precaution for the protection of Armagh, and near it are still traceable

[1] Mors Conchulaind fortissimi herois Scotorum. . . VII. mbliadna a aes intan rogab gaisced, XVII. mbliadna a aes intan mboi indegaid Tana bo Cuailgne, XXVII. mbliadna immorra a aes intan athbath.—*Rev. Celt.*, xvi., 407.

the remains of an enclosure which may have been a *bo-dun*, or possibly the *clithar bo Ulad*, the shelter for the cows of Ulad.

The Carlingford mountains (Sliabh Cuilgne), occupying the headland between Dundalk Bay and Carlingford Lough, were also a natural fastness of great strength, into which the cows of the fertile pastures of Murtheimne might be driven on the approach of a raiding force. Behind those cattle, as they were driven into these strongholds, the champions of Murtheimne would muster in their strength, and foremost amongst them Setanta, the "Wolf-dog" of the Border, the watch-dog of Cuilinn and Cuailgne, to be known ever after as Cuchulainn.[2]

"The least that is expected of one that wards the marches," Cuchulainn says in the Táin, "is to raise the cry, to give prompt warning, to be able to say who it is that comes the way." And Sualtam, when they were at the pillar of stone of *Ard Cuillin*, bids him "Take warning to the men of Ulad (of the approach of Méve's army)—bid them that they be not in the great open plains, but betake them to the woods and glens of the province if so they may evade the men of Erin." One of the most formidable of Setanta's foes, a chieftain of the Firvolce, Ceat Mac Magach, is described in our texts as a mighty warrior of Connact and a fierce "Wolf of Evil" to the men of Ulster (*oncu n'uilc ar Ultacaibh*). The wolf was soon to come prowling in quest of prey from Connact in the host of Méve and test the fighting qualities of the watch-dog of Ulad. "This Ceat was a man of prowess," says Keating. "He continued during his life to be the untiring plunderer of the men of Ulster, and in these raids he was aided by Fergus Mac Roigh and his band of exiles. It was during this time, which extended over seven years before the great invasion by Méve, that Setanta performed those feats of valour which the most famous of the Gaelic poems was composed to celebrate."[3]

[2] There were very many Gaelic names into which *Cu*, the famous wolf-dog, entered, *e.g.*, *Cu Ulad*, *Cu Connact*, *Cu Muman*, etc., etc. There were also many places near Dundealgan called Cuillin—*Sliab Cuillin*, *Cerd Cuillin*, *Sluge Cuillin*, and a river called Cuillin. It is, we think, probable that a large district in the plain of Louth was at one time called Cuillin, or by some name which *Culainn* now represents in Cuchulainn. The story of the smith's dog is an etymological "Wâhres curiosum," as the Germans have it.

[3] Ceat was the brother of Oilioll Finn, chief of the fierce Gamanraide of Irrus Domnann, from whom descended the Clanna Morna.—*O'Mahony*, 271, 274.

The Táin may be divided into three sections—(1) The Feats which we have just referred to, which may be called the ἀριστέια of Cuchulainn; (2) his Boyish Exploits, an episode which occupies nearly a sixth of the poem; and (3) the Legend of the Two Mytho-heroic Bulls, which were, according to a popular account, the re-births of two swineherds who hated and fought with each other in their lifetime, and had passed into the shapes of various animals before becoming bulls. Many suppose that this old legendary feud has lasted into our own times under the protection of the shillelaghs of the "Three-year-old" and "Four-year-old" factions, which is said to have originated about the age of a bull. These bulls, named the Dun or Brown of Cuailgne and Finbheannach (Fin-van-ach) or White Horn, were endowed with intelligence.[4] The great Queen Mor-Rigu speaks to them. Neither the Bocanach (male goblins), nor the Bananach (female goblins), nor the geniti glinni[5] (Sprites of the Valley), could come into one cantred with them.

Their appearance in the Tâin is an excrescence of the decadence, in which time, in our judgment, the *prose part* of the Táin, in the Book of Leinster, was composed or redacted.[6]

[4] Cophur in Da Mucceda (the Generation of the two Swineherds).—*Ir. Texte*, 2nd Series, 230.

[5] Genita glinni, female sprites (*sing.* genit) of the valley. Bocanachs, male Bananachs, female, goblins. Joyce, Soc. Hist. I., 269.

[6] The text of the Tâin is found partly in the Leaḃar na hUiḋhre, and the part missing from that is found in the "Yellow Book of Lecan I" (1400 *c*). The latter includes the Ferdiad portion in a brief text with old linguistic forms, which, however, is very brief, and was, as we have mentioned, in the case of the murder of the Sons of Usnach, intended to be expanded and embellished by the Sgéalaiḋe, a privilege, the abuse of which introduced the decadence. The metrical part of version in the Book of Leinster is, we think, the oldest version of the "Ferdiad," and the oldest part of the Tain.

Windisch has recently published a splendid edition of the Tâin from the text in the Book of Leinster. The great scholar who has thus added to the huge debt the Gael owe him justly observes that they are entitled to be proud of their old Hero-Saga—"Irland darf-stolz sein auf seine alte Helden Saga.—Tâin bo Cualgne nach Dem Buch von Leinster Leipzig (1905)."

Táin bo seems to us to be = *ba*, cows, and to be used for euphony, and because "ba" has divers meanings, Ḃóṫáinte means cattle herds, and if Táin = ḋo-agaim (drive), which we leave to experts to decide, it can receive a full meaning in "drove," The primary sense of Táin bo would thus be a herd or drove of cows. In a secondary use it would mean a ballad or story of a raid for lifting or hosting for the rescue of cattle, with episodes and embellishments. Táin bó would thus be wholly inappropriate as a title for a ballad or story describing a foray for a magic bull. In this way ḃruoiḋen, a hostel, has a secondary meaning, *i.e.*, a brawl at a hostel, *e.g.*, ḃruoiḋen ḃeg na hAlmaine "the little brawl at Almhain." The observations of S. H. O'Grady on this point seem entitled to carry his views. Silva Gadelica II., xvi.

The story of the "Boyish Feats" was told to Méve during the march to Ulster by Fergus and Cormac Conlingeas and by Fiacha. We shall only refer to it for the purpose of introducing our readers to the following legend.

According to the story in the "Boyish Feats of Cu" Setanta got the name in this way. At a feast given by Culainn the Smith, who lived near Sliabh Cuilinn, Setanta being then six years, killed a fierce dog (*cu*) belonging to the Smith. "Little boy," said the Smith, "that was a good member of my family you took from me, a safeguard of raiment, of flocks and of herds." "Be not angered thereat," said the boy, "for in this matter myself will pronounce an equitable award. If in all Erin there be a whelp of that dog's breed by me shall he be nurtured till he be as fit for action as his sire (that I have killed). In the meantime myself will do thee a ban-dog's office in guarding of thy cattle and substance and strong place." "Well hast thou made the award," said Concobar, and Cathbad the Wizard, chiming in, declared that he could not have done it better, and that thenceforth the boy should bear the name Cu-Chulainn or Culainn's Hound. "I like my own name better," said the boy. "Setanta Mac Sualtaim." "Never say it," remonstrated Cathbad, "for all men in the world shall have their mouths full of that name."[7]

When the invasion of Ulster was resolved on, Méve sent word to the seven Manies, her sons by Oilioll, to come to Cruachan and mobilize her army. The first corps had on them black heads of hair and green mantles, held with silver brooches, and, next to their skins, shirts of gold thread, having round patterns of red gold. The second corps was composed of the Firvolce from Irrus Domnann, under the leadership of Ceat Mac Magach and his six brothers. They had new cut hair, and the colour is consequently not stated, as it could not be seen under their caps or helmets. They had grey mantles and pure white shirts. This corps consisted of 3,000 warriors.

The third corps was formed of the Ulster Exiles, under Fergus MacRoigh and Cormac Conlingeas. They had flowing, fair, yellow hair, with sheen of gold all cast loose. Fine wrought crimson mantles with cunning devices of ornaments enwrapped them, and at their breast they had golden jewelled brooches,

[7] The Cuchullin Saga. E. Hull, 141.

and silken shirts, fine textured, touched the middle of their insteps. In unison they both lifted their feet and put them down. They numbered 3,000. This force was joined by contingents from the other provinces. The army marched by Athlone to Kells. Méve went with them in her chariot, accompanied by her daughter, Finnabhair ("bright beam," or of the "fair eyebrows"). When they halted for the night she inspected the troops. The Gailléoin of Leinster, a Firvolce tribe, won her admiration and excited her fears. "What excellence performed they that they should be praised before all others?" said her husband, Oilioll.

"They give cause for praise," said Méve, "for whilst others were choosing their camping-ground they had made their booths and shelters; and while others were making their booths and shelters they had their feast of meat and ale laid out; and while others were laying out their feasts of bread and ale these had finished their food and fare, and while others were finishing their food and fare these were asleep. Even as their slaves and servants have excelled the slaves and servants of the men of Erin so will their good heroes and youths excel the good heroes and youths of the men of Erin in this hosting."

Oilioll said it was all the better since they were fighting on their side. But Méve protested that she would like to have them killed and slaughtered as she considered that they were a danger in the host. Oilioll and Fergus dissented from this and remonstrated with her, and it was finally settled that they were to be distributed among the men of Erin so that not more than five of them should remain together. This was a curious incident, and may, perhaps, be regarded as a premonition of the revolt of the Atheach Tuatha under Cairbre Cennceat which occurred at the commencement of our era.

Kells is on the borders of Ulster, and the ἀριστεία of Cuchulainn commences from this point. His feats consisted in a series of single combats with champions from Méve's army whilst the men of Ulad were suffering from a malady which was called the *noinden Ulad*. According to the tale in the Book of Leinster (125, p. 40) this illness was to last for four days and five nights = nine, and for nine generations. This

malady was a lethargy (in gala ndian) and so Noinden would appear to mean a lethargy for nine days.[8]

The transformation of the *ces noinden*, the nine whiles malady, into the *ces noiden* (childbirth debility) must be an attempt to connect the debility with the legend of Macha and the twins. It has led the venturesome still farther afield—all the way to the *Couvade*. This curious custom, which is said to survive in some remote parts of the world, imposed on the husband the duty of taking the new-born infant to bed with him and nursing it whilst the mother attended to household affairs. There is no trace of its ever having existed in Erin, nor could domestic incidents of this kind occur simultaneously in any large number of the households of the Red Branch Knights. There was, however, a form of the sleeping sickness known in Erin in the Middle Ages, which lasted for four or five days, and during that time incapacitated the patient from doing soldier's work. The malady, epidemic in its nature, may have existed at the time of the Táin, and would very naturally be utilized by the ϸile who created or reconstructed the Táin to account for the absence of the Red Branch warriors and so give Cuchulainn his opportunity and his victories in single combat.

The legend of Macha is shortly as follows:—Macha, the wife of Crunchu, is said to have been compelled to run in a

[8] Windisch observes in his introduction to the text and translation of the *Noinden Ulad*—"In the Book of Leinster version Noinden stands unmistakeably in relation with the number 9. The *den* of *Noinden* may belong to the old Ir. 'danus' *whiles*, and to the SKR *dinn-doy*, although it is not a question of nine days but five days and four nights or five nights and four days.' Another meaning *noinden* = Tinol = a gathering, he refers to, quoting O'Donovan, and continues—"The full expression for the matter under consideration is *cess Noinden Ulad*, for which *cess* and *Noinden* singly are used as abbreviations. The full expression means either the 'weakness' of the men of Ulster for nine 'whiles,' or the 'weakness' of the men of Ulster orginating in a festival meeting. In the Book of Fermoy, according to Todd, are found *ces naoidhen* (infant or child-birth suffering) from O. Ir *noidin* gen. *noiden*, a child. But since this word is usual in the spoken language the abbreviation *noiden Ulad* for *cess noiden Ulad* is inconceivable."

The reference to Todd in the Book of Fermoy, which states the *ces* afflicted the Ulstermen for nine generations.—Proc. Ry, Ir. Acad. MS. series, vol. I, p. 17.

We do not understand Todd to say it is called *ces noiden* in the Book of Fermoy, but infer the contrary. He says "*it is called also ces naoidhean*, infant or child-birth suffering."—*Windisch*—Noinden Ulad, Koniglech Sächsische Gesellschaft, Phil. and His. Classe, 1884, 337. In the Yellow Book of Lecan it is called ceas nagen, which Atkinson equates with "ces noiden" (211, line 40). This affected the men of Ulad for the reign of nine kings. O'Curry gives ceas naidhean, child debility, in MSS. 37, and enchanted sleep, M. and C., II., 319. Nine was a magic number. See the catalogue of "Nines" in L'epopeè Celtique (D'Arbois) p. 527.

chariot race at Armagh against the king's horses to save Crunchu's life. She pleaded for delay as she was about to be confined. It was refused. She outran the king's horses and gave birth to twins, and laid her curse on the Ultonians, the *noinden Ulad.* Hence the place was called Emain Macha, the twins of Macha. By the Ultonians she meant the Clanna Rury, the descendants of Ir, so Cuchulainn, being an Eremonian, did not come under this legendary malediction. It has been observed that no pedigrees are traced to him. This may, perhaps, be the explantation. The Eremonians would not trace to him as he took sides against them in the great war. The Clanna Rury would not trace to him because he was not of the line of Ir.[9]

According to the account given in "The Proceedings of the Great Bardic Association," when Senchan Torpeist was chosen Ard Ollamh about 600 A.D., he assembled the ꝼıte and asked if any of them remembered the whole of the Táin. All the ꝼıte said they remembered only fragments of it. The Book in which it was written had been taken to the east by a certain *saoi,* as well as the great Skin Book called the Cuilmenn. Afterwards, when the Bardic Association had overstayed their welcome with the hospitable Guaire at Durlus on the Moy, Morvan the hermit, brother of Guaire, put them under prohibition (ʒeaɼá) not to stay two nights in any house until they found the Táin. So they had to leave Durlus, and then searched Alba and many places in vain for the Táin, and finally returned to Durlus.[10]

Guaire gave a kiss to St. Caillin of Feenagh and to Senchan, and a general welcome to the Bardic Body. Morvan the hermit was sent for. He told them there was not living in

[9] In the prose of the Tain this "noinden" (nine whiles) is lost sight of. It is stated that Cuchulainn was waiting for the men of Ulster from November to February. "From Monday before Samhain, November 1st to the Wednesday next after St. Bridget's Day (or Imbulc LL.), the 1st of Ferbuary, saving only a brief snatch at midday, he never slept, and even that was taken as he leaned on his spear." And Cuchulainn tells Sualtam after the fight with Ferdiad when he was covered with hurts and wounds, "Get thee to Emania. Tell Ulster that for the future they must come themselves and follow up their Tain (*i.e.*, their cows), seeing that I am no more able to defend and rescue them, because from the Monday before Samhain, etc., in the gaps and passes of Conaille Murtheimne I have stood against the four great provinces of Erin." Hull, 171.

[10] Joyce, Soc. Ir., 11. says Durlus was near Kinvaro on Galway Bay, it was where Guaire held his court alternately with Gort in Galway. O'Curry says Durlus Maoidhe, on the Moy M. C., 11., 87.

Erin, nor among the dead, anybody who could repeat the Táin, but one person only—Fergus MacRoy. "How are we to act?" said they. Morvan said, "Send invitations to the saints of Erin, and bring them to the tomb of Fergus, and fast three days and three nights to the Lord, to send Fergus to repeat the Táin to you." This was done, and Fergus came forth from the tomb, which was at the brink of Lough En, in Roscommon, and he was about repeating the Táin, standing up, but they would hear none of it until he was seated.[11] Kieran of Clonmacnoise was he who wrote for him, and the place on which he wrote it was on the hide of the Dun Cow. The Book was then known as Lebar na huidhre.[12] When the Táin was finished, Fergus returned to the tomb. The saints and the Bards proceeded to Durlus, and feasted with Guaire for three days and three nights.[13]

The recension of the Táin that has reached us in the texts we have mentioned is remarkable for the way in which it deals with Fergus MacRoy. It represents him from the outset of the expedition as acting treacherously towards Méve and her allies; leading the army astray; entering into a compact with Cuchulainn, that if the latter pretended to be afraid of him and ran away he would do as much for him on a future occasion. "Loth am I," said Cuchulainn, "to fly before any warrior of the Táin." "No need for such repugnance," quoth Fergus, "for in my turn, what time in the great final battle of the Táin you shall be full of wounds and drenched with blood, before thee I will fly." This he did accordingly.[14]

This treachery appears to be most improbable, and is quite out of keeping with the chivalry of a Red Branch Knight. It may have been introduced as a salve to the wounded feelings of defeated Connact.

Senchan Torpeist made his redaction about 600 A.D. He was a Connactman, and when he went from the house of Guaire, "the hospitable," to the tomb of Fergus, and brought him up from the other world, we may be sure that Fergus did not reveal this villainy on his own part.

On the other hand, the Firvolce obtain a very prominent position, and much praise from the redactor, and we suggest

[11] O'Curry, M.C., ii., 89. [12] Ꝺꝺaꞃ *gen.* Oıꝺꞃe, dark grey.

[13] Oss. Soc., v. 125, Imṫeaċṫ na Ꞇꞃomꝺaıṁe. [14] Hull, 1811.

that this Connact version of Táin did not emanate from the tomb, but is racy of the soil of that province. We may be certain it was never presented in that way in the King's House at Emain Macha. [15]

There were, no doubt, many versions of the Táin, and none could be called in any way authorised or authentic. There were ample grounds for the note appended by the scribe to the version in the Book of Leinster :—"A blessing on each one who shall faithfully memorize the Táin in this form, and shall not put another form upon it." He adds the caution of a sound critic—"But I who have transcribed this history, or, more truly, legend (fabulum), do not put faith in some things in this history or legend. For some things are the tricks (praestigia) of the devil; some things the figments of poets; some things are like the truth, and some are not; and some things are for the amusement of fools."

The fight with Ferdiad is the most famous, and the finest episode in the Táin. Ferdiad was Cuchulainn's most formidable antagonist, and his victory over him was his greatest triumph. "Every other fight," he said, "and every other combat that ever I have made, was to me but a game and a sport, compared to the combat and fight with Ferdiad." The fight took place at a ford of the little river Dee, which flows from west to east through the plain of Muirtheimne. Ferdiad advanced from the south, where Méve's army was encamped, and Cuchulainn stood behind the Táin on the north bank, protecting them in their retreat. Several single combats had taken place at this river with the champions of Méve's forces, who are styled the men of Erin, and then it was discussed by the men of Erin who should go to the battle with Cuchulainn on the morrow. What they all said was, that it was Ferdiad, the valiant champion of the men of Domnann. For their mode of combat was equal and alike; they had been taught the science of arms by the same tutors—by Scathach, Uathach and Aife, and neither of them had any advantage over the other, except that Cuchulainn had the feat of the Gae Bolga. Messengers were sent for Ferdiad, but he refused to come, as

[15] Senchan was by birth a native of Connact, and we have a shrewd suspicion that Fergus MacRoy's Ghost was also a Connactman, with a liberal dash of Firvolcic blood in his veins.—O'Curry, M.C., iv., 83.

he knew what they wanted—that he should fight his own friend, and companion, and fellow-pupil, Cuchulainn. At length, being threatened with wizardry and blemishing satires, he came to Méve, who made him tempting offers—"the beautiful Finnabhair, the princess of western Elga (Erin) on the killing of Cu of the Feats," with a great reward in rings and his share of plain and woodland. He shall get all that he desires. Ferdiad demands guarantees.

I will not go without securities
To the Feats of the ford;
It will live unto the judgment day
In full vigour and force;
I will not accept though I die,
Though thou excitest me in language,
Without the sun and the moon,
Together with the sea and the land.[16]

All the securities he requires are given. Fergus MacRoigh then visits Cuchulainn, and tells him to be cautious and prepared, that "his own friend and companion and fellow-pupil will come to fight him next morning." "We give our word," said Cuchulainn, "it is not to fight ourselves we wish our friend to come.[17] I am here detaining and delaying the four entire provinces of Erin, from Samhain to Imbulc (Spring) and I have not yielded one foot in retreat before any one man during that time, neither will I, I trust, yield before him." Fergus tells him again to beware, and says:—

It is I have gathered the hosts eastwards
In requital for my dishonour by the Ultonians;[18]
With me they have come from their lands,
Their champions and their fighting men.

The folk in Ferdiad's tent were not cheerful, happy, or unsorrowful that night, because they knew whenever the two companions met one or both of them should fall, and if only one that their master would be the vanquished. In the

[16] This is the old Gaelic pagan oath. In the L. U. we have the transition oath, I swear the oath that my people swear, and Lugaid Mac Nois, King of Munster, swears by God!

[17] O'Curry, M.C., III., 410. Text and Translation (by Sullivan).

[18] Fergus had evidently never heard of the Two Bulls being the *casus belli*

morning his charioteer endeavours to dissuade him from going to the ford, and said—

It is better for thee to stay,
It is a meeting of which grief will come.
Long will it be remembered,
Woe is he that goeth that journey.

Ferdiad answers—

A brave champion should not refuse
Courage is better than fear.

Ferdiad then goes to the Ford,[19] and the charioteer hears the noise of Cuchulainn's chariot.

I hear the creaking of a chariot,
He is a heroic wolf dog who is in it,
The wolf dog of Emain Macha,
The watch dog of the territory, the hound of battle,
I hear, I have heard.

And now as a sample of the prose style of the decadence we proceed: "Ferdiad's charioteer was not long there until he saw something, the beautiful flesh-seeking four peaked chariot with speed, with velocity, with full running, with a green pavilion, with a thin-bodied, dry-bodied high-weaponed long-speared, war-like croit (*i.e.*, body), of the chariot, upon two fleet-bounding, large-eared, fierce-prancing, whale-bellied, broad-chested, lively-hearted, high-flanked, wide-hoofed, slender-legged, broad-rumped, resolute horses under it."[20]

Ferdiad bade welcome to Cuchulainn. "I am happy at thy coming," said Ferdiad. "The welcome would have been acceptable to me until this time," said Cuchulainn. "It were fitter that I bade thee welcome, for you have come into my province, and my women and children and youths and horses and steeds and flocks and herds and cattle are out before thee." And then they uttered sharp, unfriendly invectives against each other, and then a softer feeling came into the heart of Cu:—

[19] Now Ferdiad's Ford. Ardee, Áth Fherdiad. [20] See c. 20 infra.

When we were with Scathach
Together we used to practice,
Together we went to every battle,
Thou wert my heart companion,
Thou wert my tribe, thou wert my family.
One dearer found I never;
Woeful would be thy destruction,
Art thou not bought with divers arms,
A purple girdle and skin-protecting armour;

The maiden for whom thou makest battle
Shall not be thine, O son of Deman;
Finnabhair the daughter of Méve,
Though it be for the comeliness of her figure;
The maiden though fair her form,
Shall not be given to thee first to enjoy;
Finnabhair the daughter of the King
The reward which has been proffered to thee
To numbers before thee has been falsely promised,
And many like thee has she brought to ruin.

"Too long have we remained this way now," said Ferdiad, "and what arms shall we resort to to-day?"

"Thine is the choice of arms to-day," said Cuchulainn, "for thou was first at the ford."

They fought with massive weapons till mid-day. The shooting was excellent, but so good was the defence that neither reddened the other. From noon to eve-tide they fought with straight, hardened spears, with flaxen strings to them, and each of them wounded the other in that time. They ceased, they put away their arms, and each of them approached the other put his hands around his antagonist's neck and kissed him thrice. Their horses were in the same paddock that night and their charioteers at the same fire. Of every healing herb that was put to the wounds of Cu he would send an equal portion over the ford westward to Ferdiad. Of each kind of palatable and pleasant intoxicating drink that was sent by the men of Erin to Ferdiad he would send a fair moiety over the ford northward to Cuchulainn.

Next day Cuchulainn was first at the ford, and had the choice of weapons. "Let us fight from our chariots to-day," said Ferdiad. The wounds inflicted were so severe that the

leeches could only apply wizardry and incantations and charms to staunch the bleeding. The combatants embraced and kissed each other thrice, as before, and their horses were in the same paddock, and their charioteers at the same fire that night. The third day they fought with swords. At eventide the separation was mournful. They did not embrace each other. Their horses were not in the same paddock, nor their charioteers at the same fire that night.

On the morning of the fourth day each knew that one or both of them should fall. Cuchulainn spoke to Laeg, his charioteer, and said, "Laeg, if it be that I shall begin to yield this day, thou art to excite and reproach me so that the ire of my rage shall grow more upon me. If it be that I prevail then praise me that my courage may be the greater." "It shall be done, indeed," said Laeg. Cuchulainn chose the Ford Feat, in which he was used to destroy every champion that came against him. Great were the deeds done this day by "*the two beloved pillars of the valour of the Gael.*"[21] After the fight had raged furiously for several hours Cuchulainn began to flag. Then Laeg interposed with taunts and insulting words, but, nevertheless, Ferdiad, in an unguarded moment, got in a home-thrust with his straight-edged sword. Cuchulainn then shouted to Laeg for the Gae Bolga. "The manner of that was this: it used to be set down the stream and cast from between the toes. It made the wound of one spear on entering the body, but it had thirty barbs to open inside." Cuchulainn caught this weapon as it floated down the stream between his toes, and made an unerring cast of it at Ferdiad. "That is enough, now, indeed," said Ferdiad. "I fall of that." Cuchulainn ran towards him, and clasped him in his arms, and carried him to the north side of the ford; and he laid him down there, and a faintness came over him. "Arise," said Laeg, "the men of Erin are approaching." "What availeth me to arise now," said Cuchulainn, "since Ferdiad has fallen by me?"

Up to this point, treating the expedition purely as an

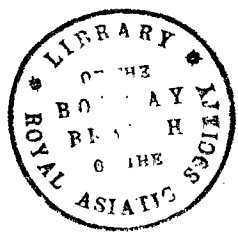
[21] Ferdiad and Cuchulainn are styled Gael (Da anċaiṙ uil ʒaṙciu ʒaeual), two beloved pillars of the valour of the Gael

invasion, it was one of the usual raiding cow-lifting forays which would come under the denomination of a Táin-bo. Upon this was in after time engrafted the absurd legend of a bull-lifting expedition and a battle between the "Brown" of Cuailgne and the "Whitehorn" of Connacht. The men of Erin carry off the "Brown," but are overtaken by the men of Ulster, near Clara, in Westmeath, and a battle is fought at Gáirich and Ilgáirich, in which the men of Erin are defeated, but succeed in carrying off the "Brown" to Cruachan. A battle then ensues between the Bulls, and the "Brown" is victorious and returns to Cuailgne, where his heart bursts with the bellowings he thunders forth to announce and celebrate his triumph!—an anti-climax, truly, as Hyde observes.

A few years later came the *revanche*. Méve again invaded Ulster, and a great battle was fought on the plains of Murtheimne. Cuchulainn fell mortally wounded. When he found that his death was nigh he bound himself with his breast-girdle to a pillar-stone that he might not die seated or lying down. And thus standing up, fully armed, and facing the foe in the bloom of early manhood, passed away the bravest hero of the Gael. Some will have it that he was not of the Gael at all but a mythological person—a solar hero. Nutt, in his very interesting and popular story on mythology, entitled "Cuchulainn the Irish Achilles," says "Miss Hull has summarised so admirably the argument for the mythical nature of Cuchulainn that I need not apologise for borrowing her words." The summary is too long to be inserted here. It consists in the enumeration of feats which no human being could have performed, because they were impossible. Nutt adds "racial and historical elements have been added to the myth." We think on the contrary that mythical elements have been added to historical ones in this as in many other cases for poetical adornment, or if you prefer it for the amusement of the uncritical in a credulous age. Nor has Méve herself escaped the searchlight of the solar critics. Our texts persistently assert that she was very ambitious, as she was very comprehensive, in her views as to her rights in the matter of what is called "her allowance of husbands." (Fercuitreo Meoba). We were, therefore, not a little curious to ascertain what

place could be assigned to her in the solar mythology, and we felt considerably relieved when the "mythologists," professing a confidence which we do not share, announced to the world the startling discovery that she was a Dawn Maiden! [22]

[22] The Four Masters do not give any account of the Tain. Probably they regarded it as a provincial war between Connact and Ulster, and not properly within the scope of the Annals of the Kingdom, *i.e.*, of the High Kingship. It is sometimes stated that they do not even mention Cuchulainn. This is not so. Under A.D. 1197, recording the death of Flaherty O'Muldory, lord of Cinel Conall, Owen and Oriel, they say "he was a Conall in heroism, a Cuchulainn in valour, and a Guaire in hospitality."



CHAPTER VII.

Finn mac Cumhail.

THE most celebrated event after the Táin, before the birth of Christ, was the Togail, or destruction of the Hostel of Da Derga and the murder of Conaire the Great. In the time of the Red Branch Knights there were six principal hostels in Erin, each situated at the meeting of four roads, and comfortably endowed with lands sufficient to enable them to extend gratuitous entertainment to the King, his officers, and other wayfarers. Da Derga's Hostel was situated at Donnybrook, where Bohernabruidne, the road from the thrushes' glen (Glennasmoil), runs by the Dodder to the mouth of the Liffey, and crosses the Slighe Cualan, which ran from Dublin to Bray. A mound was levelled here in 1879, in which were found large quantities of human bones flung in heaps, as might be expected in the case of a hurried interment after a battle or massacre. This is supposed by Ferguson[1] and Joyce[2] to represent the site of the hostel. Conaire had reigned for twenty years at the time of his murder (40 B.C.) during which time there were great bounties, to wit: "Seven ships in every June arriving at Inver Colpa and oak mast up to the knees in every autumn, and plenty of fish in the Bush and the Boyne every June, and such abundance of good will that no one slew another in Erin during his reign. And to every one in Erin his fellow's voice seemed as sweet as the strings of a lute. From mid-spring to mid-autumn no wind disturbed a cow's tail. His reign was neither thunderous nor stormy." We take the extract from a very old Gaelic tale, the Bruden da Derga[3], of great pathos and beauty, which has been translated by Whitley Stokes, our greatest Gaelic scholar, with his usual admirable felicity. The reavers who killed the King were a band of outlaws, led by his

[1] Ferguson has treated the subject in a spirited poem, Conary, which is greatly admired by such a competent judge as Yates, "The best Irish poem of any kind."

[2] Joyce, Soc. Ir. II., 172.

[3] Bruden da Derga (Stokes) Rev. Celt., xxii., 18.

foster brothers, the great grandsons of Donn Desa, the champion. The King, though they were "his brethren by the tie of fosterage, for crimes that justly had demanded death, by judgment mild sent them into banishment." After their banishment they made league with Ingcel, son of the King of Man, an outlaw like themselves, and in a marauding expedition for plunder in Bregia came upon the track of the King, and followed him to the Hostel of Da Derga, which they stormed, and there killed him.

It was probably the golden age we have described that induced some writers to place the birth of Christ in the reign of Conaire Mor. Others go further back, to the reign of Fachtna Fathac. Keating places it in the twelfth year, and the Four Masters in the eighth year of the reign of Chrimthann Nia Nair (A.M. 5,200). So we look in vain for the certainty Tighernach is supposed to have found after the time of Cimbaeth. Crimthann went on a famous expedition, and wrote, as the legend goes, a poem of seventy-two lines about it. It commences: "It was a good thing that I went on that delightful adventure."[4] He was accompanied by his fairy lover (Lenneán ſíde) named Nair, whence he was called Nair's hero (Niad). He brought back to his dun, on the Hill of Howth, many things rare and valuable. We can only mention a gilt chariot, a golden chessboard, inlaid with a hundred transparent gems, the *Cedach Crimthain*, a beautiful cloak, embroidered with gold, and two hounds, with a silver chain between them which was worth a hundred cumhals.

The war of the Táin was followed by the rising of the Firvolce. This revolt should rather, perhaps, be considered as part of the struggle. The accounts that have reached us are confused. The Four Masters speak of two risings, owing probably, as frequently occurs, to the existence of two accounts of the same series of events.[5] We shall assume that there was only one rising, followed by an intermittent struggle—a rising of the Firvolce, aided certainly by the Clanna Rury, and not improbably by other foes of the Eremonians.

The leader of the revolution was Cairbre Cinnceat.[6] He was,

[4] Má do cod a eactra n-án.—Fortunate I went on that journey.

[5] Tighernach has only one entry—"Cairpri Cindcait, 5 years till he died."

[6] Cairpre Cinn ceat, Cairpre cenn Cat raige ar íſ cat ro ail e ⁊ ba cenn ſorru e.—*Irische Text*, Vol. III, 386.

the *Coir anmann* tells us, "called Cinn Ceat, that is head of the *Cat-raige*, since it was they reared him, and he was head over them." Others say that he was of the Luaigni of Tara, and that his genealogical origin was of the Firvolce, whereof the Poet said:

> Cairbre of the Firvolce without treachery,
> The warrior of the Luaigni of Tara,
> The name of his mastership without doubt
> He got from the Cathraigi of Connact.

Another account was that the shape of a cat was on his shield, and Eocaid Ua Floinn said he was with two cats' ears, and a cat's fur between them. There were no cats, tame or wild, in Erin at the time of this Revolution,[7] and the men of Erin nowadays, whether friends or foes, would not be likely to call a popular leader a kangaroo.

There is a legend written in the Book of Leinster, in very old Gaelic, commencing:

> "Who were the three persons who spake immediately after their birth, and what did they say? Morann was the son of Cairpri Cindcait. It was from this he was called it, because by this Cairpri were killed the 'soerclann that were in Erin, for he was of the *Aiteach Tuatha* of Erin, and he took the Kingship of Erin by force, and 'twas bad in his reign, for there used to be only one grain on every ear, and one berry on the head of every stalk, and one acorn on the top of the oak in his time."[8]

This, we think, must mean that he was called the head of the Tuaṫa cat, because he was the successful leader of the rebellion of the Firvolce. The "Cath," or Cathraige were, as we have mentioned in our first chapter, a numerous people extending from Inis-Scattery (Inis Catraige),[9] in the mouth of the

[7] Hamilton, E. The Wild Cat of Europe, 76 (1896).

[8] Morann, immoro, mac Cairpre cend cait ir de ro labraṫar [sede .i. ro marbṫa leis in] Corpre birin cec soer clannd ro bói in h-Erin, ar ba di aṫeċṫuaṫaib h-Erenn do, ocus ro gab rige na h-Erenn ar ecen ocus rop olc a rige ar ni bid aċt oen grainne i cind ceca desi 7 oen dircu a ccind na cuslende 7 oen dircu im mullaċ na daraċ in a re.—L.L., p. 126b.

N.B.—The words in brackets are omitted through inadvertence in the lithograph facsimile of the Book of Leinster, which makes the passage there unintelligible.

[9] Scattery Inis is always written Inis Caṫaiġ; but in the spoken language was, no doubt, called Innis Catraige, *ex quo*, Scattery. "The Western Isles, were variously called *Eileanna Bride*, Hebrid, etc., and anciently '*Iniscead*,' '*innis Cat*,' Isle of the Cat, Isle of the Catey. Probably the Catey were the people who gave the name 'cataibh,' cat county, to Sutherland, and Cat-inis, Cat-Ness, Caithness."—A. Carmichael, Carmena Gaedelica, Vol. I., Introduction, p. 1.

Shannon to the Hebrides, Inny car, and thence northwards to Caithness. The word Cathraige is not in any way connected with Aitheach Tuatha, as is sometimes assumed. The word "athi" is glossed "*usura*," and is defined by Atkinson in his valuable glossary to the Brehon Law Tracts, to mean "a return for anything, retribution." So in the common phrase, *d'aithea indligid air*," to avenge his illegality on him.[10] We suggest that the Aitheach Tuatha were the tribes who, after their defeat, were made subject to a punitive rent, or tribute, and thus distinguished from "*Saor Clanna*," who were free from it.

The rising began with a massacre, it is said, which was treacherously planned and carried out at a banquet. According to some accounts an arrangement was come to by which an Eremonian became High King, and Morann, the son of Cairbre, Chief Justice. This was at the instance of the "very intelligent" Morann, who sent to Alba the celebrated Udhact or Will, for that purpose. He had a *sin*, or chain, called *idh Morainn* which was a most useful adjunct in the administration of justice, the loss of which is to be deeply regretted. When placed round the neck of a judge it almost choked him if he was about to deliver a wrong judgment. It was equally efficient when placed around the neck of a witness who was about to give false evidence.

Finally Elim, of the Clanna Rury, became High King, and reigned for 20 years at Tara. In the meantime the legend tells us three of the nobles had escaped from the first massacre at Magh Cro, near Knockma, in Galway, all being then infants in their mother's womb, to wit—Feradach, from whom descended the race of Conn of the Hundred Battles; Tibraide Tirech, from whom descended the Dal-araide, and Corb Olum, from whom descended the kings of the Eoghanacht in Munster; and from a second supposed massacre at Magh Bolg, in Cavan; escaped also Tuathal, in the womb of Eithne, daughter of the king of Alba. In A.D. 76 Tuathal, called Teachtmar, or the legitimate, having arrived at man's estate, returned and fought for Tara a battle at Aicill, in which Elim was defeated and

[10] Feredach proceeded to extirpate the Aitheach Tuatha, or to put them under great rent and servitude, to revenge upon them the evil deed they had done in murdering the nobility of Eren." — O'Clerigh, Leabhar Gabhala, p. 136, quoted by O'Donovan, F.M., I., 96.

slain. The Four Masters state that during the time of Elim "God took vengeance on the Aitheach Tuatha for their evil deed. Erin was without corn, without fruit, without fish, without everything that was good." Tuathal took possession of Tara and became High King and reigned for thirty years. He exacted from the chiefs of the Gael the same oath they had taken to Ugaine Mor. They swore by the sun and the moon, and the elements visible and invisible, that as long as the sea surrounded Erin they would never contest the sovereignty with him or his descendants. He fought many battles, some say 138, against the *Aitheach Tuatha*, and re-established and enlarged the boundaries of the "boardland" attached to Tara. Roughly speaking, it extended from Birr to L. Boderg, on the Shannon, to the north, and then eastwards from these points to the sea.[11] On Leinster he imposed the tribute known as the boroma (or cow-tax). The particulars of this tax are variously stated, but all accounts agree in representing it as oppressive. The most moderate is to be found in the "duan," attributed to Adamnan, when the tax was remitted at the prayer of St. Moling, by Finnachta Fleadhach (673-693).

"Finachta, Donncadh's son, remitted at Moling's prayer a mighty tribute. Thrice fifty hundred kine, with spancels, and with each cow her calf was given."[12] The amount appears quite incredible when we consider that Leinster did not then include East Meath, Westmeath, Louth, or Longford, and only the southern parts of Dublin and the King's County. Notwithstanding this remission it was afterwards claimed, and Brian, who fell at Clontarf (1014 A.D.), has left a name connected with the levying of this odious impost. Innumerable battles were fought on the head of the *boroma* for nearly 1,000 years, and it is stated that the High King shared the proceeds of the tax with Connact, Munster, and Oirghiall, possibly only when they joined in the hosting to lift the *boroma*.

The rest of Erin was as it were in league against unfortunate

[11] For an interesting examination in detail of the names and particulars of Meath and the boardland, as given by Keating, see "Ꝺeꞃꞃanꞇeaċꝺ na mꞃꝺe."—*Gaelic Journal*, Nov. 1900.

[12] Keating (O'Mahony), p. 481.—The Ard Righ, however, had no power to remit a cow rent, so as to bind his successors. He had only a life estate.

Leinster, which was, consequently, driven to make alliance with the invader. A Leinster poet sings—

> "It is beyond the testimony of the Creator,
> Beyond the word of supplicating Christ,
> All the Kings of the Gael
> That make attack on the Leinster men."

A silly story as to the origin of this tax is found in a mediæval romance known as the *Boroma*.[13] Tuathal, so the story runs, had two daughters, Fithir, the elder and Darina, the younger. Eocaidh, the son of Eocaidh Doimhlen, King of Leinster, who then resided near Lugnaquilla, in Wicklow, visited Tara, and asked the elder sister in marriage, it not being the custom to wed the younger before the elder in Erin at that time. When he took home his bride, the Leinster men told him the younger sister was better. So, after some time he went back to Tara, a day's journey only from Lugnaquilla, and said that his wife had died, and asked, and got in marriage, the younger sister, Darina. After Eocaidh took her home, the two sisters met, and the elder died of shame and the younger of grief. For this war was declared, and the tax imposed, and levied as an *eric* and a punishment. This is a type of many absurd stories to be found in Keating, the Dindsenchus, and the *Coir Anmann*. It is, of course, the old story of Procne and Philomela. Pandion, King of Athens, their father, gave Procne in marriage to Tereus, King of Daulis in Thrace, in return for aid rendered him in war. Tereus, however, being enamoured of Philomela, feigned that Procne was dead, and induced Philomela to take her place. When the latter discovered the truth, he cut out her tongue to prevent her from revealing it, but she depicted her sad story on a robe which she sent to Procne, and both took a terrible revenge on Tereus. Procne was changed by the pitying gods into a swallow, and Philomela into a nightingale, and Pandion died of grief.

One incident of this war of Hate connected with the *Boroma* may be mentioned here. In A.D. 246 (F.M.), Dunlang, son of

[13] "Boroma," T. O. Russell, preface. *Boroma* is translated into modern Gaelic by T. O'Russell, and into English by W. Stokes, Rev. Celtique, vol. xiii.-23.

Enna Niadh, King of Leinster, made a raid on Tara. Then ensued the massacre of the maidens at the Cluainfearta (the western slope of) Tara. Thirty Royal maidens was the number, and a hundred maids with each of them. Twelve princes of the Leinster men did Cormac (MacArt) put to death together in revenge of that massacre, together with an exaction of the *Boroma*, with an increase after Tuathal (F.M.)[14]

After a reign of 36 years, Tuathal was slain in the battle of Moin an Catha in Dal-Araidhe, by Mal, of the Clanna Rury, King of Ulster, who, thereupon, took possession of Tara, and became High King, and reigned four years. He was succeeded by Feidlimid Reachtmhar, the son of Tuathal, and on his death Cathaoir Mor, of Leinster, became High King. Cathaoir was of the line of Eremon, and was descended from Ugaine Mor, through Laoghaire Lorc, in the thirtieth generation. The succession was, however, contested by Conn of the Hundred Battles, son of Feidlimid Reachtmhar, who was also descended from Ugaine Mor, through Cobthach Cail Breagh, the elder brother of Laoghaire Lorc.

A battle was fought between the rival claimants at Magh Agha, or Tailtin, in which Cathaoir Mor was defeated and slain, and Conn became High King. On the day of his birth, say our texts, five roads were "discovered" leading from Tara. The Slighe Midluachra, to the north, probably towards the Moyry Pass; the Slighe Cualann, to the south-east, towards Dublin and Bray; the Slighe Dala, to the south-west, towards Ossory; the Slighe Assail, to the west towards Mullingar; and the Slighe Mor, westwards, also by the Eiscir Riada, to Galway. Conn was thus provided with highways to advance on every side within striking distance of the foe.

> One hundred fights in Mumha wide,
> Conn Cead Catha, the just, had fought.
> One hundred 'gainst the Ulla brave,
> And sixty fights 'gainst Laighen's sons.

At the accession of Conn (A.D. 123) there were three divisions of the Gael in Munster—the Eberians (Dergthine), represented by Mogh Niad, the ruling king, who was the father of

[14] One is reminded of the massacre of the school children in Bœotia during the Peloponesian war recorded by Thucydides, which filled all Greece with horror and indignation.

Eogan Mor the first, also called Mogh Nuadat; the Ithians (Darini), represented by Mac Niad, the father of Lugaid mac Conn; and the Erneans, an Eremonian offshoot from Ulster, represented by Mogh Lamha and his son Conaire. Between these divisions there was sometimes peace, but more frequently war. An arrangement come to there between the Eberians and the Ithians at one time deserves notice. When the kingship was with one division then the Brehonship and the Tanistship was with the other in alternate succession, so that on the death of Mogh Niad, the Eberian king, the Ithian Lugaid mac Conn, the son of Mac Niad, would be entitled to succeed him as king of Munster.[15]

When the sovereignty was divided the Eberians held South Munster, the Degadians North Munster. Curigh mac Dara was king of the Degadians or Erneans. Mogh Lamha and Conaire. Conn's son-in-law, afterwards succeeded to Curigh. The Darini were of the line of Lugaid, the son of Ith.

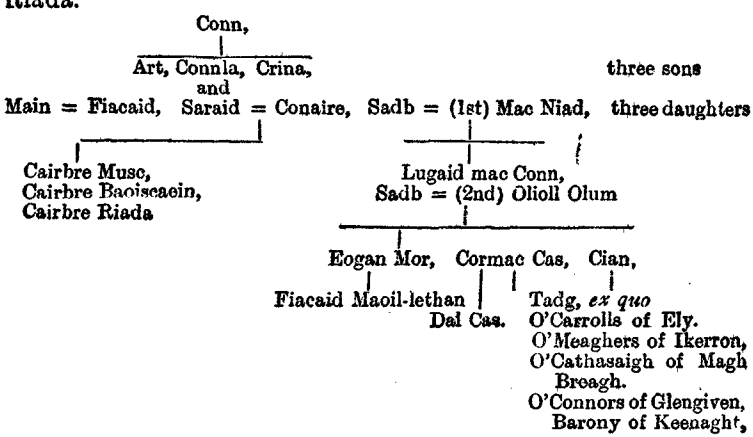
Eogan Mor had been fostered by Dari Barrach, the son of Cathaoir Mor, and with his aid he engaged in a struggle with Conn, which lasted many years, and having worsted him in ten battles, they agreed to divide Erin between them, as we have already stated, and though Eogan was routed and slain at Magh Leana the Eberians from that time forth obtained the dominant power in Munster.[16] Eogan Mor left one son, Olioll Olum.

Conn had three sons, and also three daughters, each of whom became the wife or the mother of a High King. The eldest Main was married to Fiacaid of Ulster. Her son Fergus Dubhdedach became Ard Righ. Conn's second daughter Saraid married Conaire. He became High King. His third daughter Sadb (Sive) married, first, Mac Niad the Ithian, and her son Lugaid

[15] The Eberian line at this time ran thus: (1) Dergthine; (2) Derg; (3) Mogh Niad; (4) Eogan Mor I. or Mogh Nuadath; (5) Olioll Olam; (6) Eogan Mor II. Fiacha Fermara of the line of Eremon, son of Aengus Tuirmech (Ard Righ, 384 B.C.) had a son Olild Erann. His descendants were called Erneans, though quite distinct from the Firvolcic tribe of that name. These afterwards took the name of Dal Fiatach in Ulster, and a branch of them that settled in Munster took the name of Clanna Degaid. The latter had been driven from Ulster by the Clanna Rury when Duach was Ard Righ. Duach, of the line of Eber, was the foster son of Degaid (the grandson of Olild Erann), who was the chief of the Dal Fiatach. When they were expelled Duach gave them lands in Munster and Degaid became king of Munster on Duach's death and his clan were thenceforth called the Clanna Degaid.

[16] An. Clonmac. Murphy, S.J., 53.

mac Conn became High King. On Mac Niad's death Sadb married Olioll Olum. She bore him nine sons, of whom we need only mention three—Eogan Mor, Cormac Cas, and Cian. The position of the Eberians in Munster was strengthened and secured by the marriage of Olioll with Conn's daughter, "by which means they (*i.e.*, the Eberians in Munster) have gotten themselves that selected and choice name much used by the Irish poets at the time of their commendations and praises, Sil Saroo, which is as much in English as the issue of Sadb." After the battle of Magh Leana, Conn, having slain or vanquished his enemies, reigned peaceably and quietly, with great increase and plenty of all good things amongst his subjects throughout the kingdom, so that all in general had no wants until the king's brothers sent privy message to Tibraide Tireach, son of Mal, who was slain by Conn's father, whereupon Tibraide, with a willing heart, came up to Tara accompanied with certain other malefactors, assaulted the king unawares, and wilfully killed him in the hundredth year of his age as he was making preparations towards the great feast of Tara (A.D. 173). He was succeeded by his son-in-law Conaire, who, after reigning eight years, was slain by Neimid, king of the Erneans of Munster. Saraid had borne Conaire three sons, the three Cairbres—Cairbre Musc, Cairbre Baoiscaein, and Cairbre Riada.



Olioll Olum left the kingship of Munster to Cormac Cas, and on his death to Fiacha Maoil-lethan, and then to their descendants in alternate rule. The Dalriada of North Antrim

and of Scotland, descended from Cairbre Riada, *i.e.*, Rioꝺ Fada, of the long forearm. Bede says :—"The Scot or Gael under the leadership of *Reuda*, proceeding from Hibernia, by the sword or amicably, won for themselves a settlement amongst the Picts." A second settlement of the Dalriada was made under the sons of Erc three hundred years afterwards. Argyle is = Airer Gaeidheal—the district of the Gael, or Airthear Gaedhil, the Eastern Gael, which we prefer.

A place may be found here for saying something about the genealogy of the Gael, on which Hyde has a valuable and interesting chapter in the "Literature." These pedigrees of the Gael go back to one or other of the four eponymi—the uncle, the two brothers, or the nephew.

The pedigrees of the Ithians seem to meet in Lugaid mac Conn, the grandson of Conn, his mother being Sadb.

The Eberians converge on Olioll Olum and spring from Eogan Mor, Cormac Cas, and Cian, the grandsons also of Conn, their mother being Sadb.

In the line of Eremon are found pedigrees which meet considerably before the Birth of Christ. The Dalriada of Alba join the O'Neills as much as 430 years B.C., and the O'Cavenaghs in a more remote period in the reign of Ugaine Mor (630 B.C.). The main points of convergence, however, are in Cairbre of the Liffey (258 A.D.) the great grandson of Conn, and Niall of the Nine Hostages (379 A.D.) seventh in descent from Conn.

The Irians converge on Conall Cearnach and Fergus Mac Roigh, the heroes of the Red Branch, and were generally called the Clanna Rury, from Ruidhraighe, who was Ard Righ 288 B.C. Subject to reservations for interpolations and such like infirmities in individual cases these pedigrees may be taken as fairly authentic from the points of convergence indicated.[17]

The truth or falsehood of these pedigrees is, however, of little importance in comparison to the evil they did in conjunction with other causes in keeping the people divided into four clans or factions, attached to each of which were numerous sub-divisions. The Gael remained a clansman when he ought to have been a patriot, and Erin continued to be a "trembling

[17] See Hyde, "Literature," p. 60.

sod" when it ought to have become a homogeneous and harmonious nation.

Of the three sons of Conn, Connla and Crinna were murdered by their uncles, Eocaid Finn and Fiacaid Luighde; and Art, known as Aenfer [the Single One (left)], succeeded his father as High King. In the twenty-first year of his reign (186) a great battle was fought at Ceannfeabhrat, near Kilmallock, in Limerick, between the Eremonians of Munster on the one side, and the Darini (Ithian) and the Erneans on the other. The three Cairbres and the sons of Olioll Olum led the former against Neimid, son of Srobceann, King of the Erneans, and Lugaid mac Conn, chief, and Dadera, wizard, of the Darini.[18] The Eremonians were victorious. Eogan, the son of Olioll, slew Dadera the wizard. Cairbre Riogfada slew Neimid in revenge for his father, and Cairbre Musc wounded Lugaid mac Conn in the thigh, so that he was lame ever afterwards. Lugaid fled with his friends to Britain, and aided by the King of Britain in the year 195 A.D. returned to Erin to claim the High Kingship. He landed in Galway, and a fierce battle was fought at Magh Mucrirmhe, near Athenry, about twelve miles east of Galway. Victory declared for Lugaid. Art Aenfer was slain by Lugaid Laga, and seven of the sons of Olioll Olum fell fighting. Lugaid then marched to Tara and took possession of the High Kingship, which he held for thirty years, when he fell by the spear of an assassin.

Towards the close of his reign Cormac mac Art, the grandson of Conn, disputed his right and drove him from Tara. On the death of Lugaid mac Conn, he was succeeded by Fergus "of the Black Teeth" (226). Cormac then fought a decisive battle at Crinna, near Stackallen Bridge, on the Boyne. Fergus and his two brothers, Fergus the Long-haired and Fergus the Fiery of the Crooked Teeth, fell by the hand of the renowned champion Lugaid Laga, the brother of Olioll Olum. Cormac was also assisted by the forces of Tadg, the son of Cian, the son of Olioll Olum, who then ruled in Ely.

Cormac rewarded the followers of Tadg (the Cianachta) with the fertile lands lying between the Liffey and Dromiskin in Louth. He reigned for forty years and fought as many battles

[18] The Four Masters have ᴅᴙᴀᴵ ᴅᴀᴙᴉne, the druid or wizard of the Darini. Tighernach has ᴅᴙᴏᴛh ᴅᴀᴉᴙne, Darini's buffoon. Stokes, Rev. Celt., xvii. i.

as his grandfather Conn, in Ulster, Connacht, Munster, and Leinster. Tighernach mentions "the great fleet of Cormac, son of Art, over the sea plain for the space of three years." So we may infer that his warlike operations were not confined to his own country.[19] A celebrated event of this time was the blinding of Cormac by Aengus Gaibuaibteach. The oldest version of the story is to be read in the introduction to the Book of Aicill. Cellach, the king's son, had abducted the daughter of Sorar, who was a kinsman of Aengus. Aengus went afterwards as champion of his territory to avenge a tribal wrong into Luighne, Sligo. He entered a woman's house there and drank the milk in spite of her. "'Twould be fitter for you," said she, "to avenge the daughter of Sorar your kinsman on Cellach than to take my victuals by force." No book mentions that he did any harm to the woman, but he fared forth to Tara, which he reached after sunset. Now it was a "geis" to bring a warrior's arms into Tara after sunset in addition to the arms in it. So Aengus took the ornamental spear of Cormac down from the rack and made a stroke of it at Cellach and killed him. And the edge of it grazed one of Cormac's eyes and destroyed it. Now it was a "geis" for a king with a blemish to be at Tara, so Cormac was sent to Aicill, hard by, to be cured, and the kingship was given to his son Cairbre-Liffechair, and in every difficult case he used to go to consult Cormac, and Cormac used to say, "My son, that thou mayest know," and explain the exemptions. In this way, it is said, the Book of Aicill on crimes and torts was mainly composed, to which we shall refer hereafter, as well as to his court at Tara. Legend also says that he composed for the instruction of Cairbre the "Teaching of a King" (Teagasg Rioġ), "which book contains as goodly precepts and moral documents as Aristotle and Cato did ever write." The instruction is by way of question and answer. For instance, Cairbre asks him, "O grandson of Conn, how shall I distinguish the character

[19] The migrations and out settlements of the Gael in Erin in Christian times are very remarkable. The descendants of Cian, the third son of Olioll Olum, for instance, occupied Ely (South King's County and North Tipperary); Ciannachta Breagh, above-mentioned; the tribeland of the O'Conor's at Glengiven in Londonderry; the two Galengas in Meath and Connacht; and the two Luighnes—Lune in Meath and Layny in Sligo.

of women?"[20] "I know them," answers Cormac, "But I cannot describe them. Their counsel is foolish, they are forgetful of love, most headstrong in their desires, fond of folly, prone to enter rashly into engagements, given to swearing, proud to be asked in marriage, tenacious of enmity, cheerless at the banquet, rejectors of reconciliation, prone to strife, of much garrulity. Until evil be good, until hell be heaven, until the sun hides its light, until the stars of heaven fall, women will remain as we have stated. Woe to him, my son, who desires or serves a bad woman. Woe to everyone who has got a bad wife."[21] Cormac also collected, the legend says, the chroniclers of Erin at Tara, and ordered them to write the Chronicles of Erin in one book, which was called the Psaltair of Tara. In that book were written the general exploits of the kings of Erin and of the synchronous kings and emperors of the world, and of the kings of the provinces, etc. There is a Psaltair of Tara, which is referred to by Cuan O Lochain (+1024) and has perished *injuria temporis*, but it was not compiled in Cormac's time, as *Ogham* was the only writing then known and used. The year after he was wounded he died at Cleiteach, near Aicill, on the Boyne. "The bone of a salmon stuck in his throat; or it was the elves that destroyed him after he was betrayed by Moelceann, the wizard, since Cormac did not believe in him."[22]

In the time of Cormac flourished Finn MacCumhall,[23] (MacCool) the most renowned of the Gael in legend and romance with the exception of Cuchulainn. The story of Finn's parentage is told in a tale entitled "The Cause of the Battle of Cnucha." In order to give our readers an idea of the austere simplicity of its style, as well as for the interesting

[20] *Anc. Law. III.* 82.

[21] Our fair readers will readily perceive that this acrid effusion proceeded from one who had no real knowledge of the "ministering angel," and could not have been the teaching of a wise and experienced monarch like Cormac. We should attribute it to some sour old monk who had disappointments in early life, and was run down in condition towards the end of Lent.

[22] Tighernach, *Rev. Celt.*, xvii.-20.

[23] Fiann, genitive, feine, a noun of multitude. Fianna were bands of militia. Fennidhe was the individual Fenian, and is not connected with *Finn*.

views of society it presents, we shall give it slightly abridged in a literal translation of the original:—

When Cathaoir Mor was in the kingship of Tara, and Conn Ced Cathach, in Kells, in the rigdamna's land,[24] he had a celebrated wizard, Nuada, of the Tuatha Dathi, in Bregia. The wizard was soliciting land at Leinster, from Cathaoir, for he knew that it was in Leinster his successorship would be. Cathaoir gave him his choice of land. The land the wizard chose was Almu (the Hill of Allen in Kildare). She that was wife to Nuada was Almu, daughter of Becan. Nuada had a distinguished son, to wit, Tadg. Rairin, daughter of Dondduma, was his wife. A celebrated wizard also was Tadg. Death came to Nuada; and he left his dun as it was to his son, and it is Tadg that was wizard to Cathaoir in the place of his father. Rairin bore a daughter to Tadg, *i.e.*, Murni Muncaim (of the fair neck) her name. The maiden grew up in great beauty, so that the sons of the kings and mighty lords of Erin were wont to be courting her. Cumal, son of Trenmor, commander of the Fianna of Erin, was Conn's righthand man. He was also, like everyone else, asking for the maiden. [Tadg, the son of] Nuada, gave him a refusal, for he knew that it was on account of him (Cumal) that he would have to leave Almu. The same woman was mother to Cumal and to Conn's father, to wit, Feidlimid Rechtaide.

Cumal comes, however, and takes Murni in spite of him, in elopement with him, since she was not given to him before. Tadg comes to Conn, and tells him how he has been outraged by Cumal, and began to stir him up, and to reproach him. Conn sends word to Cumal, and tells him to quit Erin or give the girl back to Tadg. Cumal said that he would not give her; that he would give anything if it was not the woman. Conn sent his soldiers, and Uigrend, the King of Luaigni, and Daire Derc, and his son Aed, who was afterwards called Goll, to attack Cumal. Cumal musters his forces against them, and the battle of Cnucha is fought between them, and Cumal is slain in it, and his people are slaughtered. Cumal fell by Goll, the son of Morna. Luchet wounded Goll in the eye, so that he destroyed his eye, and hence it is that "Goll" (blind of one eye) attached to him. Goll killed Luchet. It is for that reason, moreover, that the blood feud (fich bunaid) was between the sons of Morna and Finn. Daire (Derc) had two names, Daire and Morna. Murni went after that to Conn, since her father rejected her, and did not let her come to him because she was pregnant; and he said to his people to burn her, and yet he dare not destroy her for fear of Conn.[25]. The girl was asking Conn

[24] *Rigdamna* means royal material, the persons eligible for kingship. Here it probably means Tanist, who had a separate establishment at Kells.

[25] Hennessy cites from L.L.:—"Ba bés itossaig nach ingen dognid bais dar cenna urnaidm do breothad." It was the custom at first to burn any woman who did lust in violation of her compact. This was the law with the Teutons also.

Murni's father, in his anger, evidently thought that she was a consenting party to the abduction.

what she would do. Said Conn, "Go to Fiacal, the son of Concend, to Temair Marci, and let thy delivery be there (for Cumal's sister was Fiacal's wife)." Connla, Conn's gillie, went with her to protect her until they came to Fiacal's house. Welcome was given to her there, and 'twas a good thing she came. She was brought to bed there, and bore a son, and Demni was given as a name to him. The boy was reared by them after, until he was able to spoil everyone that was a foe to him. He then proclaimed battle or single combat against Tadg, or that full eric for his father be given to him. Tadg said he would give him an award (of judges). The award was given, and this is the award that was given to him, to wit, that Almu should be ceded to him, for ever, and Tadg to leave it. It was done so. Finn went afterwards to Almu, and lived there, and the dun was his home (arus bunaid) while he lived.[26]

Finn had another "dun" at Magh Ella (Moyelly), in the King's County.[27]

After the Gailéóin of Leinster had been placed under tribute by Tuathal, as we have stated, the Eremonians became masters of the province. The chief families of Leinster—O'Connor Falghi, O'Cavanagh, O'Toole, O'Byrne, Mac Gilla Patrick, O'Dun, O'Dempsey, O'Dwyer, O'Ryan, and all the septs that trace their origin to them—were descended from Labraid Loingseach. The O'Nolans were descended from his brother Cobthach. All these Eremonians could not have been introduced without displacing and ousting the old occupiers out of most, if not all, of their territory, and this could not have been accomplished without a numerous and well organised militia.

[26] Fotha Catha Cnucha, Castleknock, near Dublin (Leabar na hUidhre, p. 47) *Revue Celtique* II., 86, and translation by Hennessy, which we have generally followed.

[27] There are two hills in Kildare with similar names. One is Knockaillinn (Cnoc Aillenn), so called, it is supposed, from the *ail* or stone, which was placed on the mound of the rath. It is five or six miles south of Newbridge, in Kildare; is 600 feet high, and on its summit is the largest of the Irish raths. The top of the hill is surrounded by a mighty rampart of earth, 400 yards in diameter, that encloses over twenty acres. Some think it was on this hill that Finn's dun was situated. About eight or nine miles north of this, and five miles north of Kildare, is another hill—the Hill of Allen (Cnoc Almaine, *nom. case*, Almu or Alma. On this hill there are no traces of any dun or rampart, and the top is only half an acre in extent, Both occur in a line quoted by Four Masters, A.D., 904. Liadh liomsa Cnoc Almaine agus Aillenn cen occa—Sorrowful to me the hills of Almhuin (Allen) and Ailleann without soldiers. Russell, in his interesting article on Knock Aillinn, suggests that the two hills, Aillinn and Almhuin, got confounded at an early period.—Finn's "Dun" was known from far back times as Almhuin Riogha, lethan, mór Laighean—The kingly, great, broad Allen of Leinster.—Russell, T. O. "Beauties and Antiquities of Ireland."—p. 116.

It was probably accomplished gradually and on the same conditions as the plantation of the Eremonians in Connacht was effected. The new settlers in Connacht, we are told in the Book of Rights, went under the same rent or tribute that was payable by their predecessors in occupation, and we have seen that Cormac, after the massacre of the maidens at Tara, exacted the "boroma" with an increase.[28]

This militia was called Fiann or Fianna, and it was probably by their aid that Cathaoir Mor took possession of Tara and the High Kingship. In 122 B.C. Cathaoir was slain by Conn, and Crimthann, the son of Niadcort, was placed by him in the chieftaincy of Leinster to the exclusion of the line of Cathaoir, to which Baoisgne, who then commanded the Fianna, belonged. They were called the Clanna Baoisgne. Cumhal, the grandson of Baoisgne, determined, at the head of the Fianna, to restore the race of Cathaoir to power. He formed an alliance with the men of Munster and gave battle to Conn at Cnucha, where he was slain by Goll mac Morna, commander of Fianna of Connacht—the Clanna Morna—and his army utterly routed, as the tale relates. When Finn grew up, he also, like Baoisgne and Cumhal, became commander of the Clanna Baoisgne, and "there was strife and variance between him and Cormac." They made up their quarrel, apparently, and Cormac gave Finn his daughter Grainne in marriage, and the first part of his nuptial reign was peaceful. War, however, soon broke out between Finn and Grainne. According to the story, told in an old text, "When Finn went to woo Grainne she told him she would take no bride-price from him but a pair of every wild animal in Erin, to be given to her in one drive until they were at the north of Tara." Caoilte of the Swift Foot accomplished this. Grainne then married Finn, but retained her hatred of him.

She had, however, already fixed her love on Diarmuid O'Duibhne, of the curly, dusky black hair, with the love spot (ᴅᴀᴌᴌ ꞅᴇᴉꞅᴄ̇ᴇ) that no heart could resist. In the gloss on the

[28] *Book of Rights.*—"The Hy Maine were permitted by Duach, King of Connacht, to subdue the Firvolce, who paid the tribute of an enslaved people. The former, therefore, were obliged to pay the same tribute, though they were considered noble as being of the race of Conn of the Hundred Battles."—*O'D.* Maini, chief of the new Plantation, was the fourth in descent from Colla da Crioch. ᴌᴇᴀᴅᴀꞃᴎᴀ ᵹᴄᴇᴀꞃᴛ.—*O'Donovan*, p. 106.

Amra Columcille Grainne is quoted as saying, referring, no doubt, to Diarmuid :—

There is a man
For a long look from whom I would be thankful,
For whom I would give the whole world,
The whole, the whole, though it be deception.[29]

She eloped with Diarmuid, and the pursuit of Diarmuid and Grainne by Finn, is the most famous and popular romance in the Ossianic cycle of our literature.

The statements contained in Keating as to the organization of the Fianna of Erin are unsupported by trustworthy evidence, and are in a large part incredible. They were presumably derived from romance writers of the Ossianic cycle or from traditions which were probably derived from the same source. We find in the Egerton MS., a volume of the fifteenth century in the British museum, edited and translated by S. H. O'Grady in the "Silva," an enumeration and description of Finn's people. "Their strength was 130 warriors, each having 27 warriors, every one bound, as was the way with Cuchulainn, to conditions which were that they should not accept damages for an insult, should not refuse anyone money or food, and one man should not fly from nine foes."

No *eric* was to be given or taken where a Fennidhe was concerned. No man was to be taken until he was a prime poet, versed in the twelve books of poetry! No man was taken

[29] "ocuſ Gꞃanne cecinit."

ſíl duine
ꝼꞃiſ mad buide lemm diudeꞇc
Aꞃa dibꞇinud in ṁbiṫ n'huile,
n'huile, n'huile cid diubeꞇc

The text edited by Dr. Stokes gives the last line thus:—

"A meic Maiꞃe, cid diubeꞇc," which he renders:
"O, Son of Mary, though it be a privation."

We think the "O Son of Mary," is the exclamation of a horr[illegible], which crept from the margin into the text. Grainne had not heard of the "Son of Mary."

Dr. Stokes renders diubeꞇc, *privation*. It may mean also deception or fraud. See Windisch, sub-voce. Some of the texts, *e.g.*, that given by Kuno Meyer, have uc dicit Gꞃainne ꝼꞃi ꝼionn, instead of cecinit. This must mean, we think, *not* said *to* Fionn as he renders it, but *against* Fionn. This is the oldest reference to Diarmuid and Grainne in our texts. The oldest text of the tale, according to M. D'Arbois, is of the date 1736. The redaction of S. H. O'Grady is partly from a text of 1780 and partly from one of 1842-3.

"Amra Choluimbchille," ed. W. Stokes, *Rev. Celt.*, 20 p. 156.

until in the ground a large hole was made, and he was put into it with a shield and a forearm length of a hazel stick. Then nine men at nine furrows distance were to hurl at the same time two spears at him. If he was wounded he was rejected and so forth! The man who had the Fianna with him was the seventh King of Erin. The privileges of Finn are described in another tract (cited in Oss. Soc. Trans. vol. 1, p. 43). He was entitled to a cantred in every province, a townland in every cantred, and a house in every townland, and to have a hound reared in any house. He was entitled to quarter the seven battalions on the country, from Samhaim to Bealtaine (November to May), and they were to enjoy hunting and fishing, and to use all ripe and edible fruits from Bealtaine to Samhain. No one was to dare to give his daughter in marriage without asking three times if there was a Fennidhe ready to marry her, and if there was to him should she be given. No person could take a salmon, a fawn, or any smaller game, even if he found them dead, unless one of the Fianna.[30] These are, as Nutt observes, "fancy pictures traced by bards whose vision of the distant past was undisturbed by any real knowledge."[31] Keating gives the following interesting particulars, handed down by tradition to his time (*c.* 1644):—"During the whole day, that is from morning till night, they ate but one meal, of which they were wont to partake towards evening. About noon it was their custom to send whatever game they had killed in the morning by their attendants to some appointed hill where there should be a convenience of wood and moorland. There they used to light immense fires, into which they put a large quantity of round sandstones. They next dug two pits in the yellow clay of the moor, and, having set part of the venison upon the spits to be roasted before the fire, they bound up the remainder with *sugáns* in bundles of sedge, which they placed to be cooked in one of the pits they had previously dug. There they set round them the stones that had been heated in the fire, and kept heaping them on the bundles of meat until they had made them seethe freely, and the meat had been thoroughly cooked." In the evening the Fianna used to gather round the second of the pits, "and

[30] Coimgeact Saub ingean Eogain Óaig.—Oss. Soc., vol. i., p. 41.
[31] Ossian and the Ossianic literature. p. 35.

there every man stripped himself to his skin, tied his tunic round his waist, and then set to dressing his hair and cleansing his limbs. They then began to supple their thews and muscles by gentle exercise, loosening them by friction until they had relieved themselves from all sense of stiffness and fatigue. When they had accomplished this they sat down and ate their meal." Their beds were of brushwood, laid next to the ground, over this was laid moss, and fresh rushes were spread on top. These were the Three beddings of the Fiann, "Tri Cuillcedha na Fiann." Every Fennidhe took a military oath on his arms of valour to the ri-Feinnedh, or commander, before whom was borne to battle the standard known as "Gal greine," or sun-burst.[32]

Finn was assassinated by Aichleach and the sons of Uir-greann, of the Luigni of Tara, at Ath Brea, on the Boyne where he had retired in his old age to pass the remainder of his life in tranquility. It was by the aid of the Luigni, of Tara, that Conn defeated Cathaoir Mor, who was supported by the Clanna Baoisgne, and the murder of Finn was, doubtless, an incident in the blood feud which revived in all its bitterness when Cormac's daughter dishonoured and betrayed the King of the Fianna. Finn left amongst other children a daughter Sam-hair, married to Cormac Cas, King of Munster, to whom she bore Mogh Corb, his successor. This union cemented an old alliance between the Clanna Baoisgne and the men of Munster. Finn left also a son, Oisin, who succeeded him in the leader-ship of the Fianna of Leinster. They were in favour of the claims of the lineal descendants of Cathaoir Mor and opposed to the dynasty reigning in that province. Cairbre Liffechair became Ard Righ in A.D. 268, and supported the reigning King. In 271 he fought three battles against the men of Munster in defence of the rights of Leinster; in 272 he fought four battles against the men of Munster in defence of the rights of Leinster. Cairbre was defending the rights of the monarch in opposition to the rival claims of the line of Cathaoir Mor, aided by the men of Munster.

In the year after the death of Finn (284 A.D.) the decisive battle was fought at Gabra (Gowra), near the hill of Skreen,

[32] Keating (O'Mahony), p. 346, and Oss. Soc. vols., p. 41.

which is close to Tara. Oisin commanded the Clanna Baoisgne, and the Munster men fought under their King, Mogh Corb. The allied forces took the offensive boldly. The attack was, no doubt, sudden. It was an effort to succeed by surprise, a counter-stroke in defensive warfare, which, if successful, would have made them masters of Tara and of the High Kingship. The men of Erin were led by Cairbre. It was the duty of the High King of the Gael not only to command in person, but to fight in the forefront of the battle, which, no doubt, explains why so many Kings perished by the sword. He was aided by the Clanna Morna, who were commanded by Aed Caem, the son of Garaidh Glunduff, the son of Goll Mac Morna, and the last Firvolcic King of Connact. According to one account, Cairbre and Oscar, the son of Oisin, met in single combat, fighting on horseback, and Oscar fell to the spear of Cairbre, who, in turn, received from Oscar a mortal wound from which he soon expired. Another version is that, returning victorious and wounded after the fight with Oscar, he was set on by Simeon, one of the Fotharthaigh, who had been expelled into Leinster, and despatched with a single blow. The carnage on both sides was terrible. Before the monarch fell, a poem in the Book of Leinster says, the dead were more numerous than the living on the field; and in after times, poetic tradition had it that Oisin and Caoilte alone survived of the famous Fianna of Leinster, and lived until the coming of St. Patrick. He met them in their old age, and his conversation with them, the *Agallamh na Senorach* [The Talk with the Old Men] is the longest and most interesting tale in the Ossianic Cycle.[83]

[83] Irische Texte, I. 141, and Silva Gaedelica.

CHAPTER VIII.

GLASTONBURY OF THE GAEL.

AFTER the battle of Gabhra (284), the most important event was the invasion of Ulster by the three Collas. Three hundred years had now elapsed since the Táin, and during that time the power of the Clanna Rury had been declining, and the hour was now approaching when they would be obliged to fight, not for conquest, but for defending their capital.

Cairbre Liffechair had two sons, Fiacha Sraibtaine and Eocaid Doimhlen. Fiacha succeeded him, but whether he was the elder son or not we cannot say. Eocaid Doimhlen left three sons, Colla Uais the Noble, Colla Meann the Stammerer, and Colla da Crioch. After Fiacha had held the sovereignty for thirty-seven years, the Collas rose in rebellion against him, and slew him at the battle of Dubhcomar, near the confluence of the Boyne and the Blackwater (322 A.D.) Colla Uais then became High King, and reigned four years, when he was dethroned and expelled from the Kingdom into Alba, by Tireach, the son of Fiacha Sraibtaine, who then ascended the throne; shortly afterwards Muiredach and his cousins made up their quarrel, and the Collas returned from Alba. A large army was mustered for the invasion of Ulster, composed of the forces of the High King, of the King of Connacht, and of a body of soldiers from Alba. A fierce battle was fought (332 A.D.) at Carn-acha-leath-dheirg, near Carrickmacross, in Farney, and the three Collas, having routed the men of Ulster, "seized Emania and burned it, and the Ulstermen did not dwell there since." Fergus Fogha, the King, was slain, and the Clanna Rury driven eastward into little Ulster—Ulidia, the present counties of Down and Antrim. The western boundary of Little Ulster was the course of the Lower Bann, Lough Neagh, and Gleann Righe, now the valley of the Newry River. Through this valley the Ulidians constructed a great rampart, now commonly called the "Dane's Cast." It extends from Lisgoole, near Scarva, in Down, to near Meigh and Slieve

Gullion, in Armagh, a distance, as the "Cast" runs, of over twenty miles. This earthwork, which consisted of a fosse or ditch, and a rampart on either side, was not in one continuous line, but in separate sections, that stretched from one sheet of water, or one morass, to another, and may be roughly described as running parallel to the Newry Canal and the Great Northern Railway in that place. The line of the fosse and rampart can still be traced at various points for the whole distance. "At one point the fosse is still eight feet deep, the width from top to top of the ramparts is forty feet, and the height of the rampart, above the level of the field, is four feet, and the width from out to out of the ramparts is fifty-four feet." It was supported by numerous forts or raths on the east side. At the southern end the rampart trended to the east. Here, at Fathom, there was a strong rath or fort, which, with the earthwork, commanded the passes from the South, the pass at Forkhill, and the famous Moyry Pass. These are the passes which in olden times were defended by Cuchulainn. The northern end was defended by an equally strong fort at Lisnagoole.[1]

The territory of the Collas is said to have once extended in the northern part of Ulster, from the Bann to Donegal, but the portion effectively occupied was comprised in Armagh, Monaghan, and Louth, and was afterwards known as Oriel (Oirgiall).

This wall appears to have been a very effective defensive work. Muiredach did not attempt to force the southern passes. He fell in battle, fighting against the Ulidians, at Port Righe, which was, probably, the ancient name of Benburb, on the Blackwater. He was killed, says Tighernach, by Caelbhadh, King of Ulad, chief of the Clanna Rury. Some say Caelbhadh marched to Tara after his victory, and was saluted as King. Tighernach, however, does not acknowledge him, or others who are supposed to have enjoyed short reigns, to have been High King at all. But his having been partially acknowledged as such has its meaning in our history. It tells of a vigorous effort made by the Irians to recover the territory from which

[1] A detailed account of the "Great Wall of Ulidia," or "Dane's Cast," with a Map, is given in the Ulster Journal of Archæology, vol. III., pp. 29 and 65.

by Muiredach's aid they had recently been expelled by the three Collas. The year after his victory at Port Righe, Caelbhadh was slain by Eocaid Muighmheadhon (Mweevaon), the son of Muiredach. Eocaid was King of Connacht at that time, and then reigned at Tara for eight years. He married Mong Finn (of the fair hair), daughter of Fidach, as his "one wife." She was sixth in descent from Oilioll Olum, King of Munster, and bore him four sons, who introduce us as it were into modern history. They obtained the sovereignty of Connacht, and from them the Kings and chiefs of that province descended. Brian, the eldest, who is said to have left twenty-four sons, was the ancestor of Hy Briuin, of Connacht, who are not to be confounded with the O'Briens of Thomond, who were Eberians of the family of Brian Boru, the son of Kennedy. The Hy Briuin included the O'Connors of Connacht; the O'Rourkes of Breffney; the O'Reillys of Cavan; The MacDermots, MacDonoughs, and O'Flaherties.

The second son was Fiachra, who occupied one territory in the north of Connacht by the River Moy, now known as Tirreragh (Tir Fiachra), and another territory in the south of Connacht, comprised within the present diocese of Kilmacduagh. It was known as Hy Fiachrach Aidhne. The Northern branch included the powerful Clan of the O'Dowdas. The Southern branch included the Ui Clerigh and the Ui Edhin (O'Heine) descended from *Clereach*[2], Chieftain of the Ui Fiachrach of Aidhne, who was seventh in descent from Guairi Aidhne, King of Connacht; the Kilkellies; and it included also the O'Shaughnessys. The third son was Fergus, about whom we do not find anything to mention. The fourth son was Oilioll from whom Tirerill in Sligo is named. In this way the occupation of Connacht by the line of Eremon, supplemented as it was somewhat later on, as we have mentioned, by the introduction of the descendants of Colla da Crioch into Hy Many, was completely effected. The most famous of the sons of Eocaid was not born in lawful wedlock. Niall of the Nine Hostages, Eocaid's fifth son, was born to him from Carinna, a

[2] Clereach had two sons, Maolfabhail, chieftain of Aidhne, *c.* 887, the elder from whom are the Ui Cleirigh, and Edhin, the second son, from whom the Ui Edhin descend. Edhin's daughter, Mor, was the first wife of Brian Boru, to whom she bore Murchadd, Concobar, and Flan, who were slain at Clontarf.—O'Donovan, "Hy Fiachrach," 392, 398.

Saxon, during the lifetime of Mong Finn, his "one wife." She was probably a captive, the *aditionelle*, of the Ard Righ, as we have already stated, and may have been of noble birth, like the ancilla of Xanthias the Phocean. Polygamy was not known to the Gael. We are unable to accept the views of Dr. Stokes,[3] who says: "But polygamy existed, and hence, Patrick, like St. Paul, requires for the bishopric of Leinster a husband of one wife (fir oen setche)." This, of course, refers not to two wives at the same time, but to a man taking a second wife after the death of his first wife. Such a man was ineligible for episcopal orders. The injunction that the "twain" shall be one flesh was rigorously applied in the case of orders, and a man contracting a second marriage was regarded as carrying part of the flesh of his first wife into the second nuptials, and was classed as a "bigamist." It was for this reason that in our statute a man "that hath married two wives or one widow" was excluded from the benefit of the clergy, as this privilege was originally confined to persons who being in the minor might proceed to the higher orders of deacon, priest and bishop.

It would, however, be a mistake to suppose that such a connection as Carinna's was regarded as mere concubinage, except by the lawful wife.[4] There was no distinction made between the children whom we should classify as illegitimate and the legitimate children as regards inheritance and succession, and Niall became in fact Ard Righ at Tara, and the ancestor of nearly all the High Kings of Erin down to the time of Brian Boru. Some thought that Carinna should be called a Briton rather than a Saxon. O'Flaherty refers to this, and says:—

> Those who considered that the Saxons had not then come to Britain think Carinna should be called a Briton instead of a Saxon in the old muniments, relying on the hypothesis that she was sprung from Britain, which the Saxons afterwards settled in. But there is ample testimony that the Saxons about this very time, in conjunction with the Picts and the Scots, made many raids into Britain long before they had established fixed settlements there.

[3] Trip. Life, clxviii.

[4] Stephen, Criminal Law, I. 461—Sir FitzJames Stephen calls it a strange rule. He was evidently not aware that bigamists as above defined, were ineligible for holy orders.

He refers to Ammianus Marcellinus, and quotes lines from Claudian contained in the following passage, which refers to Theodosius the elder, the grandfather of the Emperor Honorius. In 367 A.D. Theodosius the elder had repelled an invasion or inroad of the Picts and Scots, who had penetrated as far as the city, "which was anciently called London, but is now known as Augusta." The passage is contained in the panegyric on the 4th Consulship of Honorius, written in A.D. 398:—

Ille (*i.e.*, Theodosius) Caledoniis posuit qui castra pruinis
Qui medios Libyæ sub casside pertulit æstus
Terribilis Mauro, debellatorque Britanni
Litoris, ac pariter Boreæ vastator et Austri.
Quid rigor aeternus coeli, quid sidera prosunt
Ignotumque fretum? Maduerunt Saxone fuso
Orcades; incaluit Pictorum sanguine Thule
Scotorum cumulos flevit glacialis Ierna.[5]

—De Quart Consul Honor 26-33.

As there is a conflict of modern opinion about Carinna, and as the details we are about to give are useful in other ways, we shall examine this point more fully. We have not found it stated in any text before Keating that Carinna Cas-dubh was a daughter of the King of Britain. O'Curry says she was a Scottish Princess (M. & C. ii., 147), and Atkinson, in the preface to the Book of Leinster, refers to her as a "Captive Scottish Princess." The evidence before Keating, on the other

[5] "He (*i.e.*, Theodosius) pitched his camp amid Caledonian hoar frosts, and, wearing the helmet, endured the heats of Central Africa. A terror to the Mauri, he crushed the foe on the British shore, and spread devastation north and south alike. What unchanging extremes of climate, what season of the year was of use? What profited seas unknown? The Saxons were routed, and the Orkneys were dripping [with gore]. Thule [probably here the Shetlands] was warm with the blood of the Picts. Icy Erin wept for the heaps (of slain)."

Glacialis Ierne, icy Erne should probably be understood, as the context suggests, as the Hebrides, of which Ptolemy specifies two, which he attaches to Erin in his 2nd chapter. Claudian, a native of Egypt, probably of Alexandria, who had received the education of a Greek, as Gibbon tells us, no doubt took his geography from Ptolemy, and balanced the heat of Central Africa with the glacial rigours of the north.

This view is, we think, sustained by the following lines in the same passage:—

"Scotumque vago mucrone sequutus
Fregit hyperboreas remis audacibus undas."

"And pursuing the Scot with the Sword everywhere (vago) with daring oars he broke through the Hyperborean waves." "Vago" must mean, we fancy, chasing them through the islands.

De Tert Consul Honorii 55. Ogygia, p. 377.

hand, is very persuasive. Tighernach not only declares his own view that she was of Saxon origin, but vouches in proof an old duan :—

> Nial Mor, the son of the Saxon,
> Cairne her name as I have collected,
> Five sons of Eocaid Muigmeadhoin,
> Not trifling is what I have certified.[6]

In the Book of Ballymote (365a) and in the Yellow Book of Lecan (188a) and in Rawlinson (502b) it is expressly stated that Carinna was a Saxon.[7] The last mentioned text states—"Carinna Cas-dubh, daughter of Sachal Bolb of the Saxons, was the mother of Niall." Later references to texts containing a similar statement will be found in S. H. O'Grady's "Silva Gaedélica," in the tale "Echtra MacEchac Muigmedoin," and in ii. 493.

It is permissible to suggest that there may be some confounding of Carinna with Ciarnait, the daughter of the Pictish chieftain, who was brought against her will by three Ulster men into captivity. She was the loveliest of women, and Cormac Mac Art sent to demand her, and she was taken to his house. She was with him in amorous fellowship, and the measure of his love for her was great. Then Ethne Ollamda, the daughter of Cathaoir Mor, his "one wife," heard of her being with him. She said they could not be with him together. Cormac was obliged to give Ciarnait into the power of Ethne, who put a slave's task upon her, putting her to grind corn, to wit, to grind nine or ten bushels of corn with a quern every day. Cormac sent for a millwright across the sea, and had a mill made to save Ciarnait.[8] So in the "Echtra" it is stated that Carinna was an object of spite to the queen (Mongfinn) and treated with great harshness by her, and this was the harshness—that she should pull up from the well half the water for Tara, and afterwards, when she became *enceinte*, the whole of it. Her position was that of a bondmaid. These stories, if true, go a long way to prove, in the

[6] *Rev. Celt.*, xvii, 32. The next entry in Tighernach is "Patricius captivus in Hiberniam ductus est."

[7] Otia Mersiana ii., 84.

[8] Egerton 1782, edited and translated by Kuno Meyer. Otia Mersiana ii., 75.

absence of direct evidence to the contrary, that there was no recognized legal polygamy in pre-Christian Erin.[9]

After a reign of eight years, Eocaid died a natural death at Tara. He was succeeded by Mong Finn's brother, Crimthann, the son of Fidach, of the line of Eber, sixth in descent from Olioll Olum. No information has reached us as to how or why he came to be High King. The only suggestion we can offer is that the sons of Eocaid were too young, and that he was chosen as a regent under the title of King. He was not King or Tanist of both or either of the Munsters, nor did he come in by force of arms. Certain it is that no one of the line of Eber became High King from his reign till the year 1002 (Brian Boru); and no one of the line of Eber had been High King for 32 reigns before, since the time of Duach Dalta Degaid (162 B.C.). It is also highly probable that Crimthann shared in the expeditions which took place before his accession in A.D. 366. These expeditions, as well as those of Niall and Dathi, form so important and interesting part of our story, that we deem it necessary to deal with the subject at some length.

In the first half of the fourth century, after the abdication of Diocletian, the Roman Empire was rent by civil dissensions. Candidates for the imperial purple sprang up in every quarter, and in the course of these contests Britain was denuded of imperial troops. This was the opportunity of the Picts, the Scots, the Attacotti, and the Saxons. Ammianus Marcellinus, "an old soldier and a Greek," as he tells us, "who never deceived by silence or misrepresentation," wrote his history probably between the years 380 and 390. He was, therefore, the contemporary of Crimthann. He writes:

A.D. 360.—The affairs of Britain became troubled in consequence of the incursions of the Picts and Scots, who, breaking the peace[10] to which they had agreed, were plundering the districts on their borders, and keeping in constant alarm the provinces (*i.e.*, of Britain), exhausted

[9] It is a curious circumstance that Carinna, the mother of Niall, from whom descended a long line of Kings of Erin should be a Saxon, whilst Arletta, the mother of William the Conqueror, from whom descended a long line of English Kings, was, in all probability, an Ethnic Celt of Brittany or Normandy.

[10] "Rupta quiete condicta." This implies previous hostilities.—Amm. Marcel. xx. cap. i.

by former disasters. Cæsar (*i.e.*, Julian the Apostate), who was wintering at Paris, having his mind divided by various cares, feared to go to the aid of his subjects across the Channel (as we have related Constans to have done) least he should leave the Gauls without a governor,[11] while the Allmanni were still full of fierce warlike inclinations.

A.D. 364.—The Picts, Scots, Saxons, and Attacotti harassed the Britains with incessant invasions.

A.D. 368.—Valentinian (the Emperor) having left Amiens, and being on his way to Treves, then the capital of the Western Prefecture, received the disastrous intelligence that Britain was reduced by the ravages of the united barbarians to the lowest extremity of distress, that Nectarides, the Count of the sea coast, had been slain in battle, and that the Duke Fullofandes had been taken prisoner by the enemy in an ambuscade. Jovinus applied for the aid of a powerful army. Last of all, on account of the many formidable reports, Theodosius (the Elder) was appointed to proceed to Britain, and ordered to make great haste. At that time the Picts, the Attacotti, a very warlike people, and the Scots were all roving over different parts of the country, and committing great ravages.

We shall return to this subject when we have carried our narrative down to the coming of St. Patrick.

It is said that Crimthann was poisoned by his sister Mong Finn. The story is told in the Leabhar Breac. Crimthann went to Scotland. In his absence his nephews and Niall rose in rebellion and seized the sovereignty. He returned with a large force of Scots, and pitched his camp near the river Moy, in Tirawley. Mong Finn pretended to be a peacemaker, and invited Crimthann to a feast to meet her sons at a place near the Moy.

When they had made an end of the entertainment, Mong Finn put into her brother's hand a poisoned cup. "I will not drink," he said, "until thou first shall have drunk." She drank, and Crimthann after her. Subsequently she died on Samhain's very eve (the eve of the banquet). . . . . Now came Crimthann from the northward, progressing towards his own natural country (that of the men of Munster) until he gained *Sliabh Suide in Righ*, or the Mountain of the King's Sitting, and there he died. Fidach, his father, his mother, and his nurse, came to the spot where he perished. There they gave way to piteous grief, and all three died on the very spot.

If the case was no stronger than this against her, Mong Finn is entitled to our verdict of acquittal, and we shall have the less hesitation in giving it, as the use of poison is unknown

[11] Julian was proclaimed Emperor at Paris in the year 360 A.D. He died on the 26th June, 363.

in Irish history until the coming of the Angevin. It is more reasonable, we think, to suppose that the High Kingship of Crimthann did not displace the hegemony of the Eremonians, and that he was originally chosen by them owing to his personal fitness, and through the influence of Mong Finn, to hold the Kingship until one of the sons of Eocaid Muigmedoin should be fit to take it. The rebellion, if it can be called such, occurred thirteen years after the death of Eocaid, when Niall was of age and fit to rule, and was headed by him, and he became High King with the assent of his half-brothers, whom he befriended.[12]

The tradition that has reached us respecting the death of Niall, is that he was slain by Eocaid, the son of Enna Censelach, King of Leinster, on the banks of the Loire, near the Muir n'Icht. The accounts given in the Yellow Book of Lecan, the Book of Ballymote, and in the Rawlinson M.S., are substantially the same. The latter is edited and translated by Kuno Meyer. Niall was, doubtless, regarded as the High King, not only of the Gael in Erin, but also of the "sea divided" Gael wherever situate, and in claiming for him the lordship of the western world (Ri-iarthar domhain) they had, no doubt, in view the Gaelic settlements in Wales, in Cornwall, and in Armorica. The Gaelic conception of monarchy was tribal, not territorial. On his visit to Armagh, Brian Boru was described in the entry then made in the book of Armagh as "Imperator Scotorum"; and it was not unnatural that the expedition into foreign parts from which captives and booty were brought back in large quantities should be magnified into conquests. One of these captives, as we shall see in our next chapter, may have been the Apostle of Erin, in after time to be associated with saints of Gaelic birth, St. Columba and St. Bridget, as the three patron saints of Ireland. Eocaid, the son of Censelach, had been driven into exile by Niall. The tale in Rawlinson is headed "The Slaying of Niall of the Nine Hostages, son of Echu Mugmedon, by the hand of Echu, son of Enna Censelach, who sent an arrow at him *out of a Saxon camp* among the bards of the Pict folk at Carn Fiell."

[12] Book of Ballymote 263, c. 21, *Silva Gaedelica*, Vol. I. 330, Vol. II. 373.

After stating the cause of the quarrel between Niall and Echu, the tale proceeds:—

Niall, however, went to obtain kingship as far as Letha (*i.e.*, Brittany or Latium) and Italy, and he was called "of the Nine Hostages" because he had five hostages of Erin, and one hostage each from Scotland and from the Saxons, the Briton's and the Franks. Now when they came to the Alps there was a great river before them, to wit the Loire of the Alps (*i.e.*, the Massif Central). Echu was then with Erc, the son of the King of Alba, an ally of Niall's, and Erc said he would go to the assembly where Niall was. "I shall go with you," said Echu. When they had arrived Erc said, "That is he yonder." There was a glen between them. Without the knowledge of Erc, Echu shot an arrow from the bow and Niall fell dead from that single shot. Thereupon the Franks attacked the Gael, and the men of Alba stood by the latter for the sake of their kinship (ar connalbus). So they came to Erin carrying the body of their king with them, and seven battles were broken before the face of the dead king. It was Torna, the poet of the Ciarraighe Luachra, who had fostered Niall. Now, when he heard the report that his foster-father had been slain, 'tis then Niall's foster-brother, Tuirm,[13] said:—

"When "we used to go to the gathering with the son of Echu Mugmedon, yellow as the bright primrose was the hair on the head of Cairenn's son.

TORNA.

"His white teeth, his red lips that never reprimanded in anger."

TUIRM.

"Saxons will seek out here in the east noble men of Erin and Alba after the death of Niall, Echu's noble son. It is a bitter cause of reproach."

TORNA.

"Saxons with flooding war cries, with bands of Lombards from Letha. From the hour the king fell the Gael and the Picts were in evil plight."[14]

Torna says nothing of assassination. The Cairenn above mentioned as the mother of Niall is stated in Rawlinson to be

[13] The accounts vary very much. Torna's dirge, which is ascribed by Kuno Meyer to 800 A.D., says nothing about assassination. Erc, above mentioned, died in A.D. 474, nearly seventy years after the death of Niall. If there was assassination we should expect to find that the assassin was cut down on the spot. Cinaed O'Hartigan (+975) says Echu drove his spear through him before the hosts.

[14] Fischrift Whitley Stokes,—Toltemklage um König Niall (Kuno Meyer), p. 3 (1890).

"the daughter of Scael Dubh of the Saxons," as already stated.

Niall was succeeded by Dathi, the son of his half brother, Fiacra. According to the Book of Lecan, Dathi was the fifth and youngest son, and was at the time king of Connacht, and the last Pagan king of that province. After fighting many battles in Erin and Alba "Dathi afterwards went with the men of Erin to Leatha (*i.e.*, Letavia or Brittany) until he reached the Alps, *to revenge the death of Niall.*"

There was a tower on the Alps build by Formenius (unknown to history), king of Thrace, in which he was making his soul at the end of his days. It was a round tower made of sods and stones, sixty feet high. The men of Erin demolished the tower, and at the prayer of the recluse a flash of lightning came from Heaven and killed the Pagan monarch. His body was brought to Cruachan, in Roscommon, six miles from Carrick-on-Shannon, and buried in the Relig na Riogh (cemetery of the kings), where to this day a red pillar-stone remains as a monument over his grave. His reign lasted twenty-three years, and he was suceeeded in A.D. 428 by Laeghaire, the son of Niall, in the fourth year of whose reign St. Patrick came to Erin to preach the Gospel.

We shall now return to the subject of the Gaelic settlements in South-west Britain, reserving for a future page their settlements in North Britain, and directing our attention for the present particularly to Arthur and Glastonbury of the Gael. We have already given the *duan* in which the bard with poetic exaggeration describes the conquests of Crimthann.

"Moreover," says Ammianus, "the Franks and the Saxons were committing outrages on the districts which meared with themselves wherever they could break in by sea or land, plundering cruelly, and burning and killing their captives. Theodosius marched from Augusta, which was formerly called Lundinium,[15] attacked the bands of plunderers and routed them, whilst driving prisoners in chains (vincti) and cattle before them, and he entirely restored the cities and the fortresses, which, through the manifold, disasters of the time, had been injured and destroyed, having been originally founded to secure the tranquillity of the country. He established stations and out-posts on the frontiers, and he

[15] Ab Augusta profectus quam veteres appellavere Lundium.—*Ammianus*, xviii. p. 3.

so completely recovered the province *which had yielded subjection to the enemy*, that it was again brought under its legitimate rule, and by desire of the Emperor called Valentia."[16]

The province here referred to must be understood to mean the province up to Hadrian's wall. The wall between the Forth and the Clyde, made by Antoninus Pius, was abandoned or lost before the end of the 2nd century. The poetic and courtly exaggerations of Claudian, excusable perhaps in a panegyric, must not be taken too seriously. They are equalled, in fact surpassed, by what we find in the Gaelic Bards. "It was this Crimthann," says Keating, "gained victories, and extended his sway over Alba, Britain and Gaul, as the Shanachie tells us in the following rann:—

Crimthann, son of Fidach, ruled,
The Alban and the Irish lands,
Beyond the clear blue seas he quelled,
The British and the Gallic might."

To the like purport and effect is the entry in Cormac's Glossary:—

"Mug Eime—that is the name of the first lap-dog that was in Erin. Cairbre Musc, the son of Conaire, brought it from the east from Britain; for when great was the power of the Gael in Britain, they divided Alba between them into districts, and each knew the residence of his friend, and not less did the Gael dwell on the east side of the sea than in Scotia (*i.e.* Erin), and their habitations and royal forts were built there. There is (a fort) called Dun Tradui, *i.e.*, Triple fossed fort of Crimthann, the great son of Fidach, King of Erin and Alba, to the Ichtian Sea, and there is Glastonbury of the Gael, *i.e.*, a church on the border of the Ichtian Sea, and it is on that part is Dinn map Laethain, in the lands of the Cornish Britons, *i.e.*, the Fort of Mac Lentham, for mac is the same as map in the British. Thus every tribe divided on that side, for its property on the east was equal to that on the west, and they continued in this province till long after the coming of Patrick."

[16] **Picti** in duas gentes divisi **Dicalydonas et Verturiones, itidemque Attacotti** bellicosa hominum natio et Scotti per diversa vagantes multa populabantur, Gallicanos [vero] tractus Franci & Saxones idem confines quoquisque erumpere potuit terra vel mari prædiis ascerbis incendiisque et captivorum funeribus hominum violabant.—*Amm. Marcel.*, xxvii., cap. 8, xxviii., cap. 3 and 8.

The Attacotti here mentioned were, as already referred to (C. I.) no doubt tribesmen of those seen by St. Jerome, in Treves, during the residence of Valentinian. The Notilia Imperii mentions four bodies of Attacotti stationed in Gaul. St. Jerome's visit and residence in Treves are commonly assigned to the time of Valentinian, and the Attacotti may have enlisted under the Imperial Eagles after the victories of Theodosius the elder.

Hence Cairbre Musc was visiting in the East his family and friends.[17] "Alba" here applies to Southern, though more frequently applied to Northern Britain. Both are called, as we have seen, the land of the "Albiones" by Avienus.[18] The Ichtian sea, as understood at the time we speak of, was the sea between France and England, and more particularly the parts near the Loire and the south coast of England and Erin, which, *i.e.*, Erin, was supposed to lie to the S.S. West of Britain, towards Spain and France, and the position of Spain was shifted correspondingly. There was an island, Ictis, off the coast of Britain, from which tin was brought in ingots on waggons when the tide was out, as Diodorus Siculus tells us (V. 229 2).

ἔις τινα νῆσον προκειμένην τῆς πρεττανικῆς ὄνομαλομένην δε 'ίκτιν—
Diodor, V. 22, 2.

This island is reasonably supposed to be Mount St. Michael, off Cornwall.[19] There was another Ictis to which vessels bound inward brought cargoes of tin from Britain, in wicker boats covered with hides, in a voyage of six days. This Ictis, we are of opinion, was situated in the estuary of the Loire, and the tin was then carried on pack-horses, a journey of thirty days, not to the confluence of the Saone and Loire, as Mr. Elton supposed, but to the outfall of the Rhone, *i.e.* Marseilles at the Bouches de Rhone.[20]

[*πρός τὴν ἐκβολὴν τῶν ροδανοῦ ποταμοῦ*]

This is accounted for by what Strabo tells us—that the Rhone was not navigable up-stream owing to the force and velocity of the current, so that the traffic went by land and not by the river. Thus the pack-horses or mules were not unloaded at the Rhone and the tin put on board a boat, but the animals went on to Marseilles to have a load going back. The island in the estuary of the Loire can no longer be identified, but the coast here has undergone remarkable changes, and, assuming we are right in our conjecture that it once existed, there is no

[17] Sanas Cormac and translation, Stokes, *sub voce.*

[18] Holder, Sprachschatz, *sub voce*, Albion.

[19] St. Michael's Mount is a granite hill, 230 feet high, and about one mile in circuit at its base, 2 miles distant from Penzance by water. It is an island for eight hours out of the twenty four, and at spring tides for much longer; and in rough weather the rough causeway which now connects it with the shore is under water for days together.

[20] Origins of English History, 35.

difficulty in believing that it is now well inland as part of the adjoining continent. The voyage between the islands was through the Ichtian sea called in Gaelic the Muir n'Icht.—Roughly speaking, the channel of the sea, at the south of England and the south of Ireland were, from the time of Caesar and Tacitus and Pliny, conceived of as one continuous channel bearing S.S.W. to Spain.[21]

There was another island, from which amber was brought, in the German Ocean—*Oser icta,* which seems to suggest that *icta* or *ictis* or *mictis* was a word applicable to islands of a particular character, possibly like St. Michael's Mount. The meaning of the word *ictis,* however, has not hitherto been traced or ascertained. We suggest the Gaelic *iuchd* or *iuc* as a probable root. Carmichael tells us it means a nook, angle, or recess. "There is a Rock in Benderloch," he writes, "called *Creag neucht,* evidently a corruption of 'Creag an iucht'—'the Rock of Knaugh or recess.'" So *inis an iuchd* would mean the island of the recess, and *Muir n'Icht* the sea of the recess or channel, as opposed to what is called the great plain of the Sea (Mag Rein).[22]

The statements contained in Cormac's glossary are, to a large extent, confirmed by what is known of the Gaelic occupation of Wales. This subject has been exhaustively examined in a treatise by Bishop Basil Jones. He claims, and we think on sufficient grounds, that the Gael were in occupation of Anglesey, Carnarvon, Monmouth and Cardiganshire, with a portion at least of Denbigh, Montgomery and Radnor, and with minor settlements in South Wales, until the accession of Caswallawn Low Her (443, 517). In various parts of Wales the word Gwyddel (Gael) enters into the composition of local names. He enumerates 25 instances; and there are numerous references to the Gael in the traditions of the Cymri who claimed to be the earliest inhabitant of Wales. They complain

[21] Timaeus historicus a Britannia introrsum sex dierum navigatio abesse dicit, insulam Mictim (*i.e.,* Iclim) in qua candidum plumbum proveniat; ad eam Britannos ritilibus navigiis corio circumsutis navigare.—*Pliny* N. H., 4, 104. This is our view of this *vexata questio,* the position of Ictis, and the Ichtian Sea, which is of importance with reference to the death of Niall and otherwise.

Desjardins "Geographie Historique de Gaule Romaine."

[22] Pliny "Nat. Hist." xxxviii. c. 2. Carmina Gaedelica, II. 294.

of invasions of their territory time and again by the Gael from Erin.[23]

"What is true is that a certain Irish clan did invade and occupy Brecknoc and Carmarthen, as well as Pembrokeshire and that about 530 they were driven out of the two first counties, and that they then invaded and occupied North East Cornwall from Padslow Harbour and the North of Devon as far as Exmoor. This was not by any means a first descent. The whole coast had been a prey to invasions from Ireland for two centuries. So early as 461 the British settlers at the mouth of the Loire were numerous enough to have a Bishop of their own who attended the Council of Tours, and in 468 they sent 12,000 men under their King Riothemus to the assistance of the Romans against the Visigoths."[24]

"Glastonbury of the Gael, on the border of the Ichtian sea." What foundatian is there for this statement? We have given much attention to this question, and shall now place before our readers as briefly as may be the fruits of our labour. The site of the famous Abbey is situated in Mid Somerset about six miles south of Wells. In early times the moorlands in Mid Somerset, and particularly those surrounding Glastonbury, were covered by large tracts of shallow water and extensive areas of marsh. The more elevated parts appeared like islands, of which the site of the Abbey was the principal. A river flowed westwards through this area round the island "surrounded on both sides by what was in early times an impassable morass or rather lagoon. Overflowed by the sea at every high tide, it was connected on the east side by an isthmus, of but slight elevation above the surrounding moor, with the higher ground, and presented the appearance of a peninsula."[25] One mile to the north a *cranoge* or village habitation was discovered in 1892, covering three acres, the site of which, though 15 miles from the sea, is only 18 feet above the sea level.

At the point where the isthmus reaches the elevated land, the remains of earthworks are found indicating that a great

[23] Vestiges of the Gael in Gwynnedd (North Wales), 1851,—p. 38, 30.

[24] Gould, S. Baring, 1899, aided amongst others, by Mr. J. D. Enys whose knowledge of things Cornish is encyclopædic. See also "Devon, 1899" by the same author.—Book of the West, Cornwall, p. 4, 7.

[25] Proc. Somerset Archl. Soc. Vol. VIII. (1859), p. 140, an interesting paper, "British Cattle Stations," by the Rev F. Warre, whose local knowledge places these facts beyond dispute.

dun or vallum was made there to defend the pass to what, it is suggested, was a "cattle station," or as the Gael would call it a "Clithar Bo" on the island.

Rhys refers to Glastonbury as an unidentified fort of the Cornish Britons, or as he calls them Brythons. "The name," he says, "so far as we know, is completely lost in the dialects of the Brythons, and it is probable that they were not the races that gave it to the island; it is more likely that they learned it from the Gael whom they found in possession. It need hardly be added that its meaning is utterly unknown, in spite of guesses both new and old; probably the word is not Celtic."[26] We venture to think that there is not much difficulty in finding a Gaelic origin for the name.

The Latin form of the name is Glastonia—with a variant Glasconia. The Anglo Saxon, coming afterwards, is Glastingia, or, more frequently, Glastingabyrg. The Abbey was usually called in later English Glaston Abbey. We suggest that Glastonia is the Gaelic *glas donn*, that is brown river, or from *inis glais duinn*—island of the brown river, which, no doubt, represented correctly enough the water of the sluggish or stagnant Brue. The Anglo Saxon Glastingbyrg or Glastingabyrg refers to the town, and is easily accounted for by the introduction into *glais duinn* of the familiar "*ing*," as *Huntandun* became *Huntingdon*, *Aebbandan* became *Abingdon*, etc. The Cymric name, "Ynysvitrin," is clearly inis vitria (the "glass" island) by a false etymology.[27]

On this island of the brown river at an early period was built a small walled church, sixty feet long and twenty-six feet broad, with a window in the east front and three windows at each side, and roofed with thatch. When we come to the time of Ina it was known as the old church—the *Ecclesia Vetusta*—in fact, the oldest in Britain. It was held in great

[26] Early Britain, 202.

[27] *Glaise*, or *glais*, or *glas*, signifying a small stream or rivulet, is very often used to give names to streams and thence to townlands, *e.g.*, Finnglas, fair stream; *Glasawhee* (Glas Buidhe), yellow stream, and *Dub glas*, black stream.—Anglice, Douglas.—*Joyce*, "Names of Places," 2nd Ed., 440. *Glas*, water.—"The word is now rare in its simple form, but is common in compounds, as Douglas, and *Glasdrum*, from *glas* and *druim*, a ridge, etc.—Carmichael, Carm. Gael, ii., 287. In the Charters of Ine the name is variously given. Glastingaburga (56), Glastingaea (58), Glasteie and Glastingae (80), Glastingburi (89). Kemble, "Codex Diplom," Vol. II. The pure Latin is always Glastonia and Glastoniensis. Warner's well-known work is entitled the "History of the Abbey of Glaston and of the town of Glastonbury (1826)."

veneration, and legends were put in circulation, in Benedictine times, about its origin. It was said that it was founded by Joseph of Arimathea, who had buried the Lord. There is no doubt that there was an *Ecclesia* in existence in the time of Paulinus, Archbishop of York (625-644), and that he had it "cased with boards and covered with lead from top to bottom."

We have now nearly reached a period when we can refer to the evidence of charters, the authenticity of which is generally accepted. Some writings of an earlier date, including a letter from St. Patrick, are now universally rejected as forgeries.

We refer only to the charters which are printed in Kemble's "Codex Diplomaticus," the authenticity of which is not now questioned by any competent critic, commencing from the time of Ine or Ina, King of the West Saxons (+.728), who built a great church east of the venerated old church in 710 A.D., and generously endowed the monastery, by the advice of Aldhelm, Bishop of Sherborne, in Dorset. Ina was of the race of Cedric, the first King of the West Saxons, and it was in the struggle against these invaders that Arthur was chosen the champion of the Britons.

The year 516 A.D. is the date generally received as that on which he was chosen "over many men nobler than himself, as commander of the army of defence." He was chieftain probably of the people called Domnonia, or Devoneans, who were then the predomniant race in what are now Somerset, Devon, and Cornwall. His famous authentic victory of *Mons Badonicus* may probably be placed at Badbury, in Dorset, and assigned to about the year 520. His opponent was Cedric, who had landed at the mouth of the Itchen, in 496, and defeated Natanleod near Netley in 508. The advance of the Saxons was stopped for a time by the victory at Badbury. It was not until Cawlin (593) that they reached the Axe, nor until Ceanwealh (672), that they reached the Parret in Somerset.[28]

Domnonia, which is the Latinised form of the name of the then inhabitants of Devonshire, represents the Gaelic Domnann who were, as we have seen, a Firvolc race, remnants of which

[28] These dates must be received with reserve.—See Stevenson's Eng. Hist Rev. (1902, 625).

were found in Irras Domnann, in Mayo, and Inver Domnann, now Malahide Bay.[29] The Domnonii were a terrible "tribe; scorners of death, and formidable to the foemen, like the Clanna Morna in Erin."[30] Civil dissension having broken out amongst them, "as if there was no foe at their gates," says Gildas, Arthur's nephew, Mordred, rose up against him, and a fierce battle was fought at *Camlon*, which was probably in Cornwall, in which Arthur was slain, or, according to some authors, only mortally wounded. He was taken to Glaston Abbey, of which he had been a liberal benefactor, and his body was interred there, where it was discovered with the body of his wife in after years, as we shall relate. It was fitting that Arthur, whom we claim as a Gael, should have his place of resurrection, to use the usual Gaelic phrase, in Glastonbury of the Gael.[31] That the *vetusta ecclesia* there was the Church of St. Patrick, is proved indisputably by two charters. —"I, King Ina," one (704 A.D. ?) states, "bestow this freedom on the monks who, in the Church of the Blessed Virgin *and Blessed Patrick*, serve Almighty God under Abbot Hemgislus, in the ancient town called Glastingaea, and place this worth and privilege on the altar." Details of the freedom and privilege are then set forth. This charter is subscribed by Aldhelm.

In 681, Baldred, King of Mercia, with the consent of his bishop, Heddo, granted to Hemgislus, abbot (of Glaston), as

[29] The pronunciation of Dom-nann in Gaelic would be Dhuv-o-nann, *i.e.*, the aspirated "dh" might be pronounced like "v" and a short vowel introduced between the "m" and the "n" for euphony, according to the usual rule. Domnann would thus be nearly equivalent to Dev-o-non, from which the transition to Devon is easy. In this way Daiminnis (the Ox's Isle) became Devinish, and many other instances might be cited.

[30] Aldhelm (t. 709) wrote:—

Sicut pridem pepigerem
Quando profectus fueram
Usque *diram Domnonian*
Per carentem Carnubiam
Florulentis cespitibus
Et fecundis graminibus.
—Jaffe Monum, Moguntiae, 38.

Cornwall was in the old diocese of Dumnonia, now merged in Exeter.

[31] There are multitudinous views about everything connected with Arthur—His very existence is doubted. We have stated what we believe to be probable, and, in the words of Caxton, "But for to give faith to all that be herein, ye be at your own liberty."—Preface to Sir T Malory.

an addition for the honoured Church of the Blessed Virgin *and St. Patrick* (ecclesiae beatæ Mariæ *et Sancti Patricii*), the lands of Somerset.[32]

In both the charters the old church is recognized as being dedicated to the Blessed Virgin, and under the patronage of and belonging to St. Patrick, the only difference between them being that in the first he is styled a Saint, in the second only blessed. After this the rule of St. Benedict appears to have been at least partially established, and the advisers of the Saxon Kings were Benedictines. In the charter of 725, Ina bestowed on the monastery the "worth of privilege that the brothers shall have the power of electing and appointing a *rector*, according to the rule of St. Benedict." The *condum neum* was established, and followed of course in due time by the ouster of the Gael.[33]

In this great charter Ina grants various denominations of lands, and confirms the donation made by his predecessors to the old church consecrated to God and the Blessed Virgin. The name of St. Patrick is wholly omitted. It states—"The old church *nostri Jesu Christi et perpetuae Virginis Mariæ*, as it is the first in Britain and fountain and source of all religion, should receive a pre-eminent worth of privilege, &c., and should hold its lands free from the exactions of Kings and the promulgations and perturbations of archbishops and bishops."[34] The lands granted and confirmed by Ina include a parcel called "Boek Ereie," which is frequently mentioned afterwards, in grants or otherwise, with the addition little Hibernia (*i.e.*, parva Hibernia). Boek Ereie is, of course, beg eriu, little Erin, and there was a famous islet of that name in Wexford Harbour, over which St. Ibhar was abbot in the time of St. Patrick. It is still known as Begery.

Joannes Glastoniensis (flor. 1400), who wrote the history of Glastonbury, tells that there was, down to his time, an

[32] Ego Ini Rex. . . . hanc libertatem monachis qui in ecclesia beatæ dei genetricis, Mariæ *et beati Patricii* omnipotenti deo, sub abbati Hemgislo famulantur in pristina urbe quæ dicitur Glastingaea, impendo et hanc privilegii, dignitatem super altare pono ut, &c.—Kemble, Codex Diplom., I., 58., and I., 25.

[33] Hanc privilegii dignitatem concessit ut habeant fratres, ejusdem loci potestatem elegendi et constituendi sibi rectorem juxta regulam Sancti Benedicti.—"Cod. Dip." I., 86. All these charters escaped the notice of Abbott Gasquet in his "Last Abbott of Glastonbury."

[34] "Codex Diplom.," I., 87.

ancient chapel in honour of St. Brigid on the island of beag Erin. He also mentions the ornamentation on the tomb of St. Patrick. The tradition of the displacement of the Gaelic monks is thus referred to by Camden, and other authors say that St. Dunstan actually brought monks from Italy in their stead.[35]

"In these early ages men of exemplary piety devoted themselves here to God, especially the Irish, who were maintained at the king's expense, and instructed youth in religion and the liberal sciences. They had embraced solitude to apply themselves with more leisure to the study of the Scriptures, and by a severe course of life accustom themselves to bear the cross. At length, Dunstan, a man of domineering (subactus ?) and crafty temperament, by underhand acts and flatteries wormed himself into an intimacy with the Kings, and introduced in their stead the monks of a newer order, namely, of St. Benedict." [36]

We are not concerned here to discuss who the saint or blessed Patrick referred to was, whether he was our apostle as the tradition there had it, or another saint known as Sen Patrick, as our texts state. Our object is to show that the monastery was Gaelic. St. Patrick's "muinter" would, undoubtedly, have considered him their first abbot wherever their habitation might be placed, and, at Glaston, Benignus was regarded as the second abbot. This, however, would not exclude the view that there was a Sen Patrick, who was abbot *in loco* there, who was buried there, and whose tomb was lavishly ornamented and greatly venerated in after time. John of Glastonbury maintained that our apostle was buried there, and that it was the "other" St. Patrick that was buried

[35] Sed jam capella ejusdem insula constat in honore Sanctae Brigidæ praedictæ in cujus parte australi foramen habetur per quod qui transierit juxta vulgi opinionem omnium peccatorum suorum veniam obtinebit.—P. 69.

Corpus suum (*i.e.*, Patricii) in pyramide saxea fuit collocatum juxta altare versus austrum quam pro veneratione ejusdem Sancti postea auro et argento vestivit nobiliter domesticorum diligentia,—Joannes Glaston, p. 67.

[36] Primis his temporibus viri sanctissimi hic Deo invigilarunt et præcipue Hibernici qui stipendiis regiis alebantur et adolescentes pietate, artibusque ingenuis instruebant Solitariam enim vitam amplexi sunt ut majore, cum tranquillitate sacris literis vacarent et severo vitae genere ad crucem perferendam se exercerent. Sed tandem Dunstanus, subacto* et versuto ingenio homo quum, malis artibus et blanditiis in principum consuetudinem se penitus immersisset, pro his recentioris instituti Monachos scilicet Benedictinos induxit.

* Subactus, as an adjective, we have not met elsewhere. Du Cange has Sabactus (noun) = Dominium. Perhaps the word should be "Subacutò"—sly or subtle.

Camden, *Britannia*, p. 158.

in Downpatrick. Our texts state or imply exactly the reverse.

The finding of the body of Arthur may now claim our attention. The best account of this is to be found in Leland's *Assertio Arturii*. He visited Glaston Abbey in the time of the last abbot, Whiting (1525-1539), who was "perfect for him," and whom he styles the whitest of the white, and his proven friend (*homo sane candidissimus et amicus meus singularis*).[37] He singles out two authorities as of primary importance—an anonymous monk of Glaston Abbey, whose name was unknown to him, the other Cambrensis Giraldus. Both say that Henry II., who kept the Abbey in his own hands after the death of Henry de Blois, Bishop of Winchester, having heard the tradition that Arthur was buried between two pyramids near the old church, ordered the remains to be exhumed, and placed in the new church before the high altar. Those pyramids were 26 and 18 feet high respectively. The taller had five courses or stories (tabulatus), on the topmost of which was a figure like a bishop [imago pontificali schemate]; in the second a figure conducting a royal procession, and the words, *Hex Sexi. Bliswerth.* In the third course were the words, *Wimcreste, Bantomp, Wenewegn.* The other pyramid had four courses. There were words on those and the remaining courses of the taller pyramids such as those we have mentioned. No mention was made of Arthur or Guinevere in these inscriptions, but the tradition was that the pyramids were erected in his memory, or, as we venture to suggest, one for the king and the other for the queen, but that no mention was made of them in the inscriptions, as it was desired to keep the place of his burial secret: "He was buried deep down for fear of the Saxons," wrote the monk. The words may have been cryptic, or put on the pyramids with the object of misleading. On digging down between the pyramids the searchers came on a broad stone

[37] Leland's *Collectanea*, v. 50.

Whiting refused to surrender Glaston Abbey and its possessions to Henry VIII. In 1539, the "remembrance" of Cromwell directed "the Abbot of Glaston to be tried at Glaston, and executed there with his complycys." We are not concerned here with the judicial forms used to cover the "taking off of heads" at this time. He was hanged, drawn, and quartered on Tor Hill, of the Abbey, on Friday, November 14, 1539. The Blessed Richard Whiting was beatified in 1896. The value of the possessions of the Abbey is variously estimated, but, probably, amounted to £100,000 a year of our money.

slab, on the under side of which was fastened, face downwards, a leaden plate in the shape of a cross, with the words inscribed on the face :—"*Hic jacet sepultus inclytus rex Arthurus in insula Avelonia.*" (Here lies buried the famous King Arthur in the Avelonian island.) Nine feet below this the searchers came upon a hollowed oak tree, in which were found the bones, as we assume, of Arthur occupying two-thirds of the space, and the bones of Guinevere occupying the remaining third. Her hair "yellow and beautiful, and braided with exquisite art" (flavam, formosam, et miro artificio consertam) crumbled into dust when they touched it. The remains of both were reverently removed and placed in a magnificent tomb before the high altar. Giraldus did not witness the exhumation, nor does Camden say he did. He was shown the cross with the inscription by Henry, who was made abbot on the death of Henry II., 1189, and became Bishop of Worcester 1191, whilst Leland was also shown the cross by Whiting, and gazed on it with the loving curiosity of an antiquary. The cross has been lost or mislaid, but Camden took a copy from a "*prototype,*" which has been engraved and published.[38] Giraldus was also shown the bones of Arthur, which were of enormous size. The shin bone was placed on the ground beside the leg of the tallest man then present, and was three finger-breadths above his knee. The skull was very large, and had the marks of ten wounds upon it, nine of which had formed into a firm cicatrix. The tenth was a wide, gaping gash, and was, seemingly, the cause of death. These bones, coupled with the name Arthur, and the proofs we have given of Gaelic immigrations into the South West of Britain indicate that this man of gigantic stature, comparable to the Gaelic giants we have already mentioned, of which there is no example amongst the pure Cymri, are persuasive proof that Arthur was a Gael; and the colour of Guinevere's (Finnabhair?) hair is some evidence that she too was of Nordic stock.[39] In 1276 Edward I. and Eleanor visited Glaston Abbey. The King caused Arthur's tomb to be opened, when he "found the bones of wonderful thickness and largeness." Next day

[38] Quam ego curiossimus contemplatus sum oculis et solicitis contrectavi articulis motus antiquitate rel et dignitate.

[39] ꝑ Gaelic = Cymric go; *e.g.*, ꝑin, wine, and ȝioin, wine, 63 and 64.

the King folded up Arthur's bones and the Queen Guinevere's bones in separate wrappers, with precious preservatives, and fixed their seals thereon. The skulls of both, however, were not placed in the tomb, but retained as relics "by reason of the zeal of the people."

Two epitaphs had been already placed on the tomb—one for Arthur:

Hic jacet Authurus flos regum gloria regni
Quem mores, probitas commendant laudi perenni

Here lies Arthur, flower of Kings, glory of the realm,
For whom a pure and upright life has won eternal fame.

And one for Guinevere:

Hic jacet Arturi conjux tumulata secunda,[40]
Quae meruit caelos virtutum prole fecunda.

Here lies entombed Arthur's wife, secondly (?)
The fruitful mother of virtues that have won her heaven.

The story we have just placed before our readers is sometimes treated as a monkish forgery and fable. In a recent work, for example, by distinguished authors, we find the following:—

"So real was this expectation (*i.e.*, the return of Arthur, hale and strong, to lead his people), that it is supposed to have counted with the English King as one of the forces he had to quell in order to obtain quiet from the Welsh. So the monks of Glastonbury proceeded to discover there the coffin of Arthur, his wife, and *her son!* This was to convince the Welsh of the unreasonableness of their reckoning on the return of Arthur, who had been dead for some 600 years."[41]

We consider this way of writing history to be deplorable. The dead are entitled to fair play as well as the living; and t is elementary justice that if a grave charge is to be made it should be made in clear and precise language, and not by way of insinuation.

[40] Secunda.—There is no suggestion in any text that Arthur was twice married, and we conjecture the "stridulous" poet, as Leland calls him, wrote both epitaphs, and used "secunda" to make his rhyme, in the above sense, with the second Hic jacet.

[41] "The Welsh People" (1902) Rhys & Jones, p. 593. The son is imaginary.

The authors here must be held to mean, and, we humbly think, ought to have said that Henry II., and the monks and divers persons, known or unknown, conspired to palm off on the Cymri and the general public "bogus" remains of Arthur as genuine for a political purpose.

We venture to think that they greatly underestimated the intelligence of the Cymri, the sagacity of the monarch, and, we will add, the honesty of the monks.

Henry was not likely to lend himself to an open daylight fraud that was certain to be exposed and make him ridiculous, and the Cymri never asserted that it was a fraud, which they would certainly have done if there were any grounds for such an allegation. The Cymri had better reasons for defending their liberty than the expectation of Arthur's return, and the monarch had surer means to enforce their obedience than the production of his bones.

CHAPTER IX.

THE COMING OF ST. PATRICK.[1]

Mog raotair ocur fognama do Crist.

A slave, laborious and serviceable to Christ.—*Trip. Life.*

DURING the reigns of Crimthann, Niall, and Dathi, the Roman Empire was sinking. Torn by civil strife; distracted by religious controversy, and assailed on every frontier, it appeared to be approaching its last agonies. The year before the accession of Niall (378 A.D.), the flower of the Imperial army fell on the disastrous day of Adrianople "Though the Romans," writes Ammianus, "have often had experience of the fickleness of fortune, their annals contain no record of so destructive a defeat since the battle of Cannæ." In 383 A.D., Maximus revolted, and crossed over into Gaul with the greater part of the Roman troops then stationed in Britain. In 400 A.D., Alaric entered Italy, and the troops at the extremities were summoned to defend the heart of the Empire. "From furthest Britain," says Claudian, came the guarding legion that bridled the fierce Scot, and wiping off the blood, examined closely the figures, pictured by puncture on the dying Pict."[2] The terrified Romans set vigorously to work to rebuild the walls of the city.—How were the mighty fallen? Rome was now to experience the truth of the old, old saying, so much admired by Polybius, "that fortune only lends her favours to nations."

On the last day of the year 406 occurred the irruption of the barbarians across the frozen Rhine into Gaul. "Innumerable and cruel nations," writes St. Jerome (342-426), in a

[1] The Patrician Dates we suggest are the following:—Birth, 392-393; Captivity, 407-408: Apostolic Mission, 432; Death, 492-493.

[2] Venit et extremis legio prætenta Britannis
Quæ Scoto dat frena truci ferroque notatas
Perlegit exsangues Picto morienti figuras.
—"De Bello Getico," 416-18.

Exsangues = clearing away the blood (?)

letter to Ageruchium, exhorting her against a second marriage, "have inundated Gaul. All that lies between the ocean and the Rhine, and between the Alps and the Pyrenees, has been devastated by the Quadi, the Vandals, the Sarmatians, the Alani, the Herulians, the Burgundians, and, oh! unhappy republic, by the Pannonians. Mainz, which was formerly an important town, has been taken and sacked, and thousands have been slaughtered in the church. After a long siege, Worms has been destroyed, and Rheims, a town of old so strong; Amiens, Arras, the Morini, who dwell at the extremity of the earth; Tournai, Spires, Strasburg, have been carried off into Germany (translatæ sunt in Germaniam). Answer me, my daughter, is this a proper time to think of marrying?"[3] "A cloud of Saxons, Burgundians, &c., followed in the wake of the invading host, with a view to pillage and plunder. They carried off so many Gauls into captivity that, according to the expression of a contemporary, the Belgic cities were transported into Germany."[4]

The Morini at the end of the earth was a reminiscence of Virgil. In the 8th book of the "Æneid," he describes the wonderful shield given by Venus to Æneas, on which, in one scene, Augustus is pourtrayed receiving the gifts of the nations. He is seated at the portals of the Temple of Apollo. In long array before him, file envoys from the conquered peoples from the Euphrates in the East to the Morini, furthest of men, and the "two-horned Rhine," on the West. But now, "Who will believe it?" Jerome asks. "What fitting language can ever be found to express it, that Rome has to fight at the heart of the Empire, not for glory but for life.[5]

Extremique hominum Morini Rhenusque bicornis.

The Morini were a powerful people, contiguous to the sea, as the name implies, in the north-west of Gaul. Their territory was comprised in the ancient diocese of Therouanne, which is now sub-divided into three—Boulogne, St. Omer, and Ypres. Under the organisation of Augustus the Morini were a "civitas,"

[3] Epist ad Ageruchium De Monogamia, 16-18, Migne, vol. 22, col. 1,057.

[4] Martin's "Hist. of France,' vol. I., 336.

[5] Quis hoc credet? Quæ digno sermone historia comprehendet? Romam in gremio suo non pro gloria sed pro salute pugnare.—*Ib.* 2d, col. 1,058.

an administrative centre, a city state. This was more than a town and its suburbs. It was a territory which included several small towns as well as the chief city, some villages as well as a vast number of small properties. The rural districts (pagi) and the villages (vici) were part of the civitas and the most important proprietors generally held the magistracies in the chief city, and formed the bulk of the *curia* or city senate, and were styled *decuriones*.[6] Taruanna was the chief city of the Morini. It was situated at the head waters of the Letia (now Lys), an important river which flows from the Pas de Calais and joins the Scheldt at Ghent, after a course of 150 miles. This was the trade route from the Rhine to Britain. It was one of the FOUR ROUTES from Gaul mentioned by Strabo, the others being from the Garonne, the Loire, and the Seine. "For such as set sail from the parts about the Rhine," he says, "the passage is not exactly from the mouths of the Rhine but from the Morini, who border the Menapii, among whom is also situated, I learn, Itium (Boulogne), which the deified Cæsar used as a naval station."[7] Taruanna was thus a very important commercial and military position. The name seems to be derived from two Celtic words signifying the Thor of the River.[8]

Let us now examine what St. Patrick says in his Confessions about his birthplace[9]:—

I had for my father Calpornus, a deacon [decurion?] (the son of Potitus, a priest, the son of Odissus), who lived in the Vicus Bannauem of Tabernia. For he had a small property hard by where I was taken prisoner, when I was nearly sixteen years of age. *I knew not God truly*, and I was brought captive to Ireland with so many thousands, as we deserved, for we had fallen away from God and not kept his commandments, and were not obedient to our priests, who admonished us for our salvation.

[6] *Fastel de Coulanges.* Instel Polet, vol. I., 228. [Ed. 1901.]

[7] Strabo, iv., 51-3.

[8] "*Terouanne* et Acqs en Provence etaient les deux oreillers sur lesquels le roi de France pouvait dormir en paix." Paroles de Francis I. *Tor*, as we have already stated, meant a fenced town or huttery, from the root "tver," to hold or enclose. We invite our readers to keep it well in mind, as it appears in various forms, particularly in "nem thor," to be mentioned hereafter.

"Uanna," the second moiety of Taruanna, is from abha gen. abhann, a river, so we suggest that, Taruanna meant fenced town or huttery of the river [Lys]. Abann is pronounced "Ouann," and *Thor-ouann* is not very different in pronounciation from the modern word Therouanne.

Gregory of Tours styles the inhabitants Tar-abennenses.—Hist. iv., 19.

[9] Too much stress has, we think, been laid on the rudeness of our Saint's Latin. He was conscious of this himself, and refers to it, which is evidence that there was a period of his life when he could have done better. As it is, his

Let us for a moment assume that the Vicus Bannauem Taberniæ means a village (or village district) in the city state of Taruanna. We know as historical facts that there were very many thousand persons taken prisoners, and, presumably, sold as slaves, about the year 407 or 408 A.D., from the civitas of Taruanna and the adjoining territories, and that there were many priests ministering in these regions at that time. No other place has been suggested as the birthplace of our saint of which the same can be said, as we shall show when dealing with the claims of Alclyde or Dumbarton to that distinction. Again, in the epistle to Coroticus, which, if not genuine in this part, was certainly composed by one who had the genuine confession before him, it is stated that Calpornius was a *decurio* In the confession, *deacon* should probably be *decurio*, as it appears to explain why he was a decurio by adding for he had a small estate (the usual qualification for a *decurio*), hard by. There is not a shred of evidence above ground or under ground, by written record, monumental inscription or even by unreasonable conjecture that there ever was a *curia* or a *decurion*[10] at Alclyde or anywhere north of the city of York during the whole Roman occupation of Britain. In the early centuries of our era as well as in later times the *villa* meant a very large estate.

genders, cases, optatives, and subjunctives, and the "other torments" of our youth, seem to be right enough. Having turned our twelfth lustrum, however, we speak subject to correction. His principal deficiency appears to us to be scantiness of his vocabulary and a tendency to transfer the Gaelic idiom into his style, *e.g.*, "dedi capturam" is probably Ꞇiꞅaꞃ ꞅuaꞃ, "gave himself up," rather than was captured." On the whole, we doubt if an Oxford prizeman went as a missionary to Tanganyika, and having spoken the local vernacular for sixty years, wrote an apologia after turning ninety years of age—we doubt, we say, if he would do much better. St. Patrick was, no doubt, taught Greek and Latin until he was nearly sixteen years of age. Bilingual instruction was the ordinary course in the schools, not only in the Province, but also in the three Gauls, and both languages were in common use in Marseilles and the South of France, where he made his studies afterwards.

Deum verum ignorabam.—This is usually translated I did not know the true God; but the context proves that this is not correct. For how could he fall away from the true God if he did not know him. He was, of course, instructed in at least the elementary doctrines of the Christian religion by the priests he refers to. We may state here that our chapters about St. Patrick were written and printed in the *New Ireland Review* before we saw the *Latin Writings of St. Patrick* by Dr. White, D.D. We have read his valuable contribution with great care, but find nothing to alter in our views or in our translations, which differ materially from his. See Proc. Ry. Ir. Acad., vol. 25, p. 201.

[10] Bury refers to Kübler's article *Decurio* to prove the existence of *Decurions* in smaller towns. But Kubler mentions no case in Britain. Life of St. Patrick, p. 290.

Tacitus speaks of "villarum infinita spatia" villas, *i.e.*, domains of interminable extent. The diminutive "villula" was the moderate sized estate, also styled "curialis." The owner stood between the great proprietors (potentiores possessores) and the peasant proprietors (possessores minores).[11] The order of decurions was composed almost exclusively of such owners. There is an Idyll of Ausonius entitled *Ausonii Villulam*, written about this time, *i.e.*, "the little estate of Ausonius." "It is small, I confess," he says, "but no estate is small for a well-balanced mind."[12] The Villula was situated near Bordeaux, and consisted of 200 jugera (each $^5/_8$ acre) of tilth, 100 jugera of vineyard, 50 jugera of meadow, and 700 jugera of wood, in all 1,050 jugera; say 650 acres. The villula referred to in the confession may have been quite as large. Its extent is not of material importance here. It was, at any rate, sufficient to qualify for the burdensome office of a decurio, *i.e.*, over 25 jugera.

Again, the place referred to as Tabernia must have been a well-known place. The confession does not state where it was situated. The writer evidently thought it was unnecessary to do so. No one nowadays would think of stating that Boulogne was in France. Taruanna was just as famous then as Boulogne is now. Could this be affirmed of any other place claiming to be the Saint's birthplace?

The words "in vico Bannauem Taberniæ" next claim our attention. "Vicus" had many meanings. In the time we write of it meant (1) a street. There was a vicus Patricus in olden Rome. It meant (2) an urban district, say a parish. It also meant (3) a village or rural district. Joubert says "there were 10,000 vici, 400 pagi, and about 100 nations in Gaul in Cæsar's time, and the vici correspond to the modern communes."[13] A passage of Ulpian places our contention beyond doubt. It provides "that a person born in a vicus is deemed in law to be a citizen by birth of the city state to

[11] This distinction is found in the Theodosian Code (385 A.D.) xi. 7. 12.

[12] Parvum herediolum, fateor, sed nulla fuit res.

Parva unquam aequanimis.—Idyll III.

Ausonius was afterwards tutor to Gratian, the son of the Emperor Valentinian, and Consul, A.D. 379.—"De rhetore Consul."

[13] Joubert "La Gaule," 134.

which that vicus appertained (qui ex vico ortus est eam patriam intelligitur habere respublicae cui vicus ille respondet. —Digest L. 30). We suggest that the vicus Bannauem appertained to the city state Taruanna. The omission of inflection, *i.e.*, Bannauem instead of Bannauensi makes no difficulty. It was usual at this period in the case of such names.

The real question is, does "Taberniæ" stand in the text of the confession for "Taruannæ." If Taber-niæ be divided into its component parts, and if the "b" in Taber be aspirated then the pronounciation would be "thour" which would be nearly the same as "*tár*," pronounced "*thaur*." The second part "uannæ" would then be represented by "niæ," the intervening vowels "ua" being omitted. The Irish orthography of Latin words had several peculiarities, many of which are conveniently enumerated by Gilbert in the introduction to his *Fac-simile M.S.* It will suffice for us to mention the following—"Ch" for "h," *e.g.* Abracham, "i" omitted, "audens" for "audiens," "i" inserted, "e" for "æ," "q" for "c," qu for "c," "t" for "d." In this way Taber-[i]-niæ, pronounced Thor-i-niæ comes very close to the modern name Therouanne. The view we are suggesting will appear more clearly from the words of Muirchu, which are copied, we may assume, by Probus. Muirchu wrote his notes about the life of our saint under the direction and supervision of Aedh, Bishop of Sleibhte (in the Queen's Co., near Carlow), who died in the year 698 A.D.[14]

Muirchu's words, which we take from the *Documenta Patriciana* are (abridged) as follows:—

"Patricius, qui et *Sochet* vocabatur, Brito natione in Britannis natus. Caulfarni diaconi ortus filio *ut ipse ait* Potiti presbyteri qui fuit (de) Vico *Ban navem thaburindecha* ut procul a mari nostro." We pause to suggest that the words should be divided, spaced, and written as follows:—"de vico Bannavem Thabher inde (thaur-inne) chaut (*i.e.* haud) procul a mari nostro." The Life by Probus follows Muirchu closely, and he had, no doubt, before him the first leaf of the notes by

[14] Muirchu dictante Aeduo Slebtiensis civitatis episcopo conscripsit. Dictare operam significare videtur præesse operariis eisque normam tradere atque ordinem structionis.—Du Cange.

Muirchu, which is now missing from the book of Armagh. Father Hogan's text is taken from a MS. in the Royal Library at Brussels. Probus is identified by Colgan with Coenechair, a professor or head master in the School of Slane, on the Boyne, who died about the year 950. His words are :—" Sanctus Patricius qui et *Sochet* vocabatur Brito fuit natione . . . Hic in Britaniis natus est a patre Calpurnio diacono qui fuit filius Potiti presbyteri . . . *de vico Bannaue Tiburniae regionis haud procul* a mari occidentali."

Muirchu continued :—Quem vicum constanter indubitanterque comperimus esse ventre (*prius* venitre ?), which " vicus " we have found without any doubt or difference of opinion to be of ventra or venitra. Probus has " quem vicum indubitanter comperimus esse Nentreae or Neutreae (Todd), provinciae qua olim gigantes* habitasse dicuntur," which vicus we hold to be without doubt of the province of Nentria or Neutria, in which the giants are said to have dwelt formerly. There can be no doubt, ws think, that " Nentriae " or " Neutriae " in Probus represents the word ventre [*i.e.* ventrae] or venitrae in the Brussels text of Muirchu.[15] It was understood so by Lanigan, and must mean Neustria, which was also called Neptria and Nevtria. It comprised at this time the territory between the Meuse and the Loire.[16]

After his capture our Saint was sold " with many thousands " into Erin. Slaves were a drug in the market at that time. Two years previously, A.D. 405, Stilicho had forced the army of Radagaisus to surrender in the Tuscan hills to the number, some say, of 200,000 ![17] They were sold as slaves, and

**Gigantes.*—This has no meaning here. There is no record or myth about giants dwelling in North Western Gaul. We conjecture Brigantes, which, after the fashion of his age. Probus connected etymologically and genealogically with Britania, *Bregh-an*, and *Brith-an* being similar in sound in Gaelic pronunciation.

Sochet, afterwards Sagart, was probably the first Gaelic attempt at *Sacerdos*—which meant bishop as well as priest.

[15] Hogan E., S.J., Documenta de S. Patricio Analecta Bollondiana, vol. 1., p. 549; Todd, p. 357; Colgan, Acta, SS. ii. 51.

[16] Partem ad occasum solis vergentem quae inter Mosam et Ligerem interjacet Neustriam vel Neustrasiam et nonunquam Neptricam vel *Neptriam* vocaverunt.—Valesius *Notitia Gallearum* (1675), p. 372.

[17] Orosius—Tanta vero multitudo captivorum Gothorum fuisse fertur, ut vilissimorum pecudum modo singulis aureis passim greges hominum venderentur.—vii., 36. Migne 31, 1161.

fetched only the price of cattle, an aureus (12s.) apiece. This may account for the vast importation mentioned in the Confession, to which we now return.

He became the slave of Milchu, the King of North Dalaradia, who lived in the valley of the Braid, near the hill of Slemish, about five miles from Ballymena, in the county of Antrim. The Confession proceeds:—

But after I had come to Ireland I daily used to herd cattle, and I prayed frequently, and in the one day I said about one hundred prayers, and as many in the night. And one night in my sleep I heard a voice saying to me "Thou fastest well; thou shalt soon go to thy fatherland," and again after a short time I heard an answer saying to me "Behold thy ship is ready." And it was not near, but perhaps 200 (Roman) miles away (184 statute miles). After this I took flight and left the man with whom I had been for six years. And I feared nothing until I had arrived at that ship, and on the day I arrived the ship moved out of its place (*i.e.*, from the beach), and I told them I was away from the wherewithal (to give) that I might sail with them.[18] And it displeased the captain, and he answered sharply with indignation, "By no means seek to go with us." And I separated myself from them and was going on my way, when one of them called out, "Come quickly, the men are calling you." I returned and they said, "Come, we take you on credit and help us (*lit.* do friendship with us) as you please." That day, however, I refused to eat their food, through the fear of God, and after (a voyage of) three days we reached land.

We suggest that the first part of this journey was from Slemish to Sligo, or more probably to Killala, near which was the wood of Foclat, where he took ship for the mouth of the Loire.[19]. The cargo consisted chiefly of dogs, which the owner

[18] Et illa die qua perveni profecta est navis, de loco suo et locutus sum ut *abirem* unde navigarem cum illis. The Armagh text has abirem. The Cotton MS. has *haberem*. We suggest *aberam*, the meaning being that he had not the money to pay his fare at that time, but would pay at Marseilles where he had friends. This corresponds to the following "ex fide" on credit [Veni quia ex fide recipimus te]. Sugere mammillas, suck their paps, means eat their food. Our Saint scrupled to do so lest it might be an idol offering. White quotes with approval Bury:—"Professor Bury has kindly communicated to me after the Latin text was printed the following note—'I take *Sugere mamellas* to be an interesting piece of evidence for a ceremony or primitive adoption!'" —Proc. Ry, Ir. Acad., vol. 26, p. 321.

[19] The land journey was, we think, from Slemish to the Cutts at the Bann, near Coleraine, thence to Derry, thence by the Gap of Barnesmore to Donegal, thence to Ballyshannon, thence to Sligo, thence to Ballina, thence to Killala. We are unable to state exact figures for these distances, but conjecture from map measurements that going by the ordinary routes it could not have been less than 150 miles, and a runaway slave would not be likely to keep to the highways, and stating a round number from recollection would not be far astray in mentioning 200 Roman or 184 English miles as the length of his journey.

was taking to Marseilles. The voyage over the sea could be accomplished in 3 days. Philip O'Sullivan Beare in his *Decas Patritiana*, says, as already stated, it was scarcely more than a two days' voyage from Ireland to France, or than a three days' voyage from Ireland to Spain, *i.e.*, from Kinsale to Corunna.[20]

The Gaelic and Celtic hounds were greatly prized by the Italians and Provengal villa proprietors, who usually kept packs of hounds for hunting game, a sport in which they greatly delighted. These dogs were also used for games and exhibitions in the circus. Symachus, consul A.D, 391, thanks his brother Flavianus for sending seven Gaelic dogs (canum Scoticorum oblatio) which the Romans received with such astonishment on the day of the games that they thought they must have been brought in iron cages [as if they were lions or tigers.][21]

In Claudian the dogs are represented as following the huntress Diana and her five lieutenants in their quest for wild beasts to win plaudits for the consul (Stilicho). Amongst other dogs he mentions the Britannæ, *i.e.*, the Scotic dogs, dogs that will break the necks of mighty bulls. (Magnaque taurarum fracturae colla Britannae.)[22]

The Confession does not mention what the party did when they arrived in France, nor does the saint say afterwards what he did when the Lord delivered him from their hands. From the time he went on board ship until his liberation he tells us sixty days elapsed, of which twenty-eight were spent in the desert, two resting, and ten finishing the journey, making in all forty days. Of the balance of twenty days, three were spent on the voyage, and the remaining seventeen days, about which nothing is said, were probably spent in landing, making preparations for the journey, and going forward as far as the

[20] Euronotum versus Galliam (Scotia) habet vix plus duorum dierum marino itinere remotam. Hispanias tridui normali cursu dissitas a Libonoto sive Africo in aquilonem ventum occurrentes spectat.—Decas p. 2 (1619).

[21] See "The Irish Wolf Dog." E. Hogan, S.J., *passim.*

[22] In II. Cons. Stilich. Lib., 361.

desert. The reference to this journey in Fiacc's Hymn is as follows:—

"Said Victor to Milchu's bondsman that he should go over the waves,
He [*i.e.* Victor] set his foot on the flag stone; its trace remains, it wears not away,
He sent him over all the Alps [tar Elpa huile], Great God it was a marvel of a course,
So that he left him with Germanus in the South, in the southern part of Letha.
In the isles of the Southern Sea he fasted; therein he meditates.
He read the Canon with Germanus; this is what the written lines declare."

After landing at the mouth of the Loire, we suggest, the party proceeded towards Orleans, probably keeping near the river. This occupied the better part of seventeen days. East of Orleans, a great forest then covered the upland between the Loire and the Seine. Until recent times this region was so thinly populated that it was known as the *Gatinais*, or wilderness—*Gatine* was old French for desert. This was part of the desert referred to in the Confession. If the party then followed the course of the Loire—"the Loire of the Alps," as it is called in the text already mentioned—they would reach the Morvan, which is a promontory jetting out from the *Massif Central* (Cevennes), twenty miles broad and forty miles long. The Loire, which rises in the Massif Central at an elevation of 4,511 feet above the level of the sea, and has a course of 620 miles, passes alongside of the Morvan as it flows north-west to Orleans. After crossing the Morvan the party would descend into the narrow valley of the Rhone, which separates the Massif Central from the Alps, of which it is geologically an outpost. South of this lay the Provincia, which was not part of the "Three Gauls," and which, as Pliny wrote, was more truly *Italia* than a "*Provincia*." The Alps crossed by our Saint was some spur of the Massif Central and the Italy into which he descended, was the Provincia,[23] and the islands south of Italy were the islands in the Mediterranean south of this Italy. This view explains the

[23]. Breviterque Italia verius quam Provincia.—Pliny N.H., iii., 4.

Dictum Patricii. "I had the fear of God to guide me on my journey through the Gauls and Italy in(to) the islands in the Tyrrhene Sea.[24]

The word Italia had at this time, after the territorial changes introduced by Diocletian, many significations. The one thing it did not mean in the official language was Italy as a geographical unit by itself. For instance—1st., the *Prefecture* of Italy included the dioceses of Italy, Illyricum, and Africa; 2nd., the *Diocese* of Italy included Italy, Tyrol, Grisons, and South Bavaria. Ruffi, the historian of Marseilles, writes of going from the Province into Gaul. It need not surprise us, therefore, to find the "furthest of men" at this time regarding a province which was not a part of the "three Gauls" as part and parcel of Italy itself. So in the Tripartite Life (239) Burdigala (Bordeaux) is referred to as being in Letavia (Italy). "He left Sechnall in the bishopric with the men of Erin until the ship should come from Burdigala of Letavia to carry him. Patrick went in this and came to Rome."

Our readers may ask, Why did the party proceed through the forests? Was there not a highway from Marseilles to Lyons by the left bank of the Rhone, and from Lyons to Orleans and Tours on the Loire? The answer is, there was; but the bye-ways were then safer than the highways. The country had been laid waste by the barbarians, and, in all probability, neither food nor lodging for man or beast could be obtained along the great Roman road. Writing in 416 or 417 A.D., a poet, supposed by some to be Prosper of Aquitaine, says:—"For ten years we have been cut down by the swords of the Vandals and the Goths; if the whole ocean was poured into Gaul more would be left above the waters. So many cities have perished, what crimes did the citizens commit? So many blameless youths, so many maidens. How had they offended?"[25]

[24] Timorem Dei habui ducem itineris mei per Gallias atque Italiam etiam in insulis quae sunt in mari Terreno.

[25] Carmen de Providentia
Si totus gallos sese effudisset in agros
Oceanus, vastis plus superesset aquis
Heu cœde decenni.
Vandalicis gladiis sternimur et Geticis
Quo sceleri admisso pariter periere tot urbes?
Quid pueri insontes, Quid commisere puellae?
Migne, vol. 51, col. 617.

The Confession continues:—

And we journeyed for 28 days through a desert, and food failed them and hunger prevailed over them, and one day the gubernator said to me: "How is it, Christian, you say your God is all powerful? Why therefore canst thou not pray for us since we are like to die of hunger, and 'tis hard if ever we see the face of man again?" Now I said plainly to them, "turn ye with faith to the Lord, my God, to whom nothing is impossible, that he may send you food on your way until you have enough, because everywhere there is abundance with Him?" And lo! a herd of swine appeared on the way before our eyes and they killed many of them, and they remained there two nights, and they were well recruited and their dogs were filled. After this they gave the greatest thanks to God. They found, moreover, wild honey, and offered me some, and one of them said "it is an *idol offering*" (immolaticum). Thank God after that I tasted none of it. And that same night Satan tempted me greatly in a way that I shall remember as long as I am in this body. And he fell upon me like a huge rock and I had no power on my limbs save that it came home into my mind that I should call out Helias (Ἐλέεισον?)[26] and in that moment I saw the sun rise in the heavens, and while I was calling out Helias (Ἐλέεισον) with all my might, behold, the splendour of the sun fell upon me and at once removed the weight from me and I believe that I was aided by Christ, my Lord, and His spirit was then crying out for me, and I hope it will be thus in the day of trial (die pressurae). And further, I was seized by many (spirits). On that first night, then, that I remained with them I heard the divine voice, "You will be with them for two months." And so it was. On the 60 night the Lord delivered me from their hands. On our route too He provided for us food and fire and dry weather every day until on the tenth day we all arrived. As I stated before, we had made a journey of 28 days through the desert; and on the night we arrived we had indeed no food left.

[26] Heliam vocarem. We suggest "Ελεισον"—Have mercy. This is indicated by the context and by the following dectum Patricii.

Ecclesia Scotorum immo Romanorum; ut Christeani ita ut Romani sitis ut decantabitur vobiscum oportet omni hora orationis vox illa laudabilis "Curie lession Christe lession." 'Omnis Ecclesia quae sequitur me cantet 'Curie lession Christe lession, Deo gratias.'

The Church of the Scots now is the Church of the Romans; as you are Christian that you may be likewise Roman, it is needful that you should sing at every hour of prayer that laudable chant Κύριε ἐλέεισον χριστε ἐλέεισον. Every Church that follows me will sing Κύριε ἐλέεισον χριστε ἐλέησον, Thanks to God, ordinary pronunciation now is Κυριε λεισῶν or Κυριε λησῶν. The Gaelic pronunciation of "lession" is "lessin."

We are unable to accept Bury's version "Church of the Scots now of the Romans in order that you may be Christians as well as Romans it behoves that there should be chanted in your churches, etc." The plural "satis" excludes this. St. Patrick, p. 229, and see Academy, Aug., 1888, p. 89.

Dicta Patricii.—Analecta Bollandiana I. 585.—Rolls scr. IV. 301.

Multos adhuc capturam dedi.

We think multis animis = daemonibus is the only reading that will make sense. Ferguson says the confession here refers to "a continuing spiritual captivity."

When St. Patrick arrived at Marseilles, Cassian was building, or had just built, the Monastery of St. Victor, which was destined to be afterwards one of the wealthiest and most celebrated in France. It was built over the "Confession" or tomb of the Soldier Martyr, St. Victor, who had suffered for the faith during the Diocletian persecution on the 22nd of July 303, on which day the feast of St. Mary Magdalen is now celebrated therein. He was a native of Marseilles. His body was dismembered, and with the bodies of others who suffered at the same time, thrown by the executioners into the sea. His townsmen gathered the remains from the beach and placed them in the crypts, over which the monastery was built, near the cubiculum, or cell of Mary Magdalen. Lazarus and Mary and Martha were, according to the tradition of the church in Provence, driven from Palestine after the Ascension of our Lord and fled to Marseilles, and were the pioneers of Christianity there. These crypts were originally natural caves and passages in a limestone hill near the harbour. When Cæsar besieged the town in 49 B.C., on this hill it was that the celebrated Druid's grove was situated, which struck such awe into his soldiers that to dissipate their terror he took up an axe and dealt the first blows to a venerable oak.[27]

The truth of the tradition was assailed by Launay and his school in the 17th century. It has been ably defended by many writers, amongst others by the Bishop of Angers, then professor at the Sorbonne, who, in the course of his lecture on "The First Apostles of Gaul," made the following admirable observations, which we have endeavoured to apply to our own traditions, and deem it not superfluous to quote in this place:

> They have violated the rules of sound criticism. If they had confined themselves to saying that amongst the legends of the first apostles of Gaul, composed after the lapse of many centuries and grounded on popular tradition, there were some which mixed up with

[27] Gregory of Tours, *Multis miraculis celeberimum. De gloria Martyrum, Lib. I.*

Ruinart *Acta Martyrum* (Ed. 1853) p. 333.

Notice sur les Crypts de l'Abbaye Saint Victor pres. Marseilles, 1864. A very interesting notice by an anonymous writer, with a plan of the Crypts; only 40 copies printed.

Faillon M., *Monuments inedits sur l'apostolat de Sainte Marie Madeleine en Provence.*

an incontestable body of facts, inexact details and apocryphal traits added thereto by the popular imagination and the simplicity of writers, they would have kept within the bounds of calm and impartial discussion. If this principle had been accepted the way would have been clearly marked out for a methodical search for truth. To study those old legends without bias towards praise or censure, as so much primitive tradition, often enlarged and embellished with a view to edification, to examine with care their origin or their value, to extract the historical element which is often shut up in them under the veil of poetry, to strip the principal fact of accessory circumstances subsequently worked in, such is the task a sound criticism has to perform. But there is rashness, to say the least of it, in refusing all belief to these legendary narratives, in rejecting absolutely the "ensemble" as well as the details, the body of facts as well as the foreign additions. It carries no small authority, what a church by unbroken tradition testifies as to the name, the life, and the works of its founder.[28]

The truth of this tradition and, what concerns us more nearly, the great evangelizing work done by the Monastery of St. Victor, are attested by the Bull or Privilegium of Pope Benedict IX. After being completely destroyed by the Saracens in the 9th century, the structure was rebuilt and rededicated in 1040. "The rededication," says Ruffi, "was one of the most illustrious that history records." The Pope performed the ceremony of rededicating the two churches, the upper church dedicated to SS. Peter and Paul, and the lower church, in which were the confession of St. Victor and the relics of the martyrs, and many religious treasures. The Counts of Provence, the Viscounts of Marseilles, the Archbishops of Arles, Valence, Aix, and Embrun, and some twenty suffragan bishops took part in the function. Numerous abbots and religious, in all nearly ten thousand persons, were assembled, It was on this occasion that the Privilegium or Bull was issued, from which we take the following abridged extract:—

With the same care we determined to confirm this monastery, founded near Marseilles in the time of Antoninus Pius, and afterwards built by the blessed abbot Cassian and consecrated at his request by the most blessed Leo, Bishop of Rome * * * which was augmented with many honours and charters by emperors and kings, and enriched with the relics of the holy martyrs Victor and his companions and of

[28] Freppel C. E., Bishop of Angers: *Irenee et l'iloquence Chretienne dans la Gaule pendant les deux premiers siecles.* Cours d'eloquence sacrée fait à la Sorbonne pendant l'année 1860-1861, p. 46.

Lazarus raised from the dead, and of the innumerable martyrs, confessors, and virgins, as is testified in many volumes of sacred literature.[29]

It was from this monastery that Cassian first shone forth to promulgate everywhere in Western parts the monastic rule for the perfect and regular way of monastic life; and this monastery in the love of Christ its spouse was so persevering in its mission that its voice went forth into every land and its teaching like a bright lamp, spread the light to the ends of the earth." [30]

Cassian was probably born in Lesser Scythia, in some trading station of the Marsellaise in that territory, near the mouths of the Danube. He was educated at Bethlehem, and afterwards went to Egypt, where he spent seven years visiting anchorites and cenobites, from the mouth of the Nile to the first cataract. He received deacon's orders from St. John Chrysostom, and was ordained priest by Pope Innocent I. Leaving Rome, he arrived in Marseilles about the year 410, the year in which St. Honoratus founded the celebrated monastery at Lerins, and built his monastery, which shortly reckoned 5,000 monks attached to the parent house and its dependencies. It was called the "gate of paradise," [31] and is perhaps referred to in the dictum of our Saint, who may have been inwardly contrasting its peaceful life there with his strenuous militancy. "From the world" says the Dictum, "you have retired into Paradise." (De Saeculo requisisstis ad paradissum).[32]

There were two classes of monks, of which Ruffi gives an interesting description. The first were the Cenobites. These led a life in common under the Abbot, or Prior. Amongst these were *monarchi ad succurendum*, persons of the first quality, struck with a dangerous illness, who put on the sackcloth of penitence to gain the spiritual aid of the monks, by becoming members of the "Corps" of the Monastery. If they recovered,

[29] Ruffi, *Histoire de Marseille*, vol. II., 25.

[30] Nam et in occiduis partibus ad monachorum profectum et regularem tramitem Cassianus hinc primus emicuit, ad promulgandum circumquaque Monachorum legem, quodque monasterium ita in amore Christi sponsi ambiens perduravit ut in omnem terram sonus ejus exiret, et in fines orbis terrae ejus doctrina et lucerna fulgens luceret.
Privil. Bened., ix. ann. MXL., printed by
Faillon, M. Abbé, *Monuments inedits sur l'apostolat* de Sainte Marie Madeleine en Provence et sur les autres apotres, etc., 1848, Vol. II., p. 635.

[31] Ruffi, "Ce monastére était appele *la porte* de Paradis," Vol. II., p. 114.

[32] *Trip. Life* R.S., 103. Requissistis = recessistis, *qu* being often used for *c*.

they were obliged to wear the habit and live according to monastic discipline. The second class were the Anchorites; these shut themselves up in cells, huts, caunes or recluseries, which the Abbot of St. Victor had got built in the neighbourhood. They did not make much difference between the cells and the huts, both being hermitages, composed of several (cellules) small cells. The monks who wished to live in strict solitude retired to the cells. Those who lived in the huts had a superior over them, and met together every Saturday and Sunday for the "office" in the church of the Hermitage. The Reclusi (inclusi) lived more retired, for they took a vow never to leave their cells, where they had a little garden and a little oratory to celebrate Mass. They could only communicate with seculars through a window, through which they heard confessions—even those of women. After they were enclosed, the seal of the Abbot was placed on the door of the cell, which was opened only in case of dangerous illness. Even then the incluse was not allowed to leave the cell.[33] The latter form of life was much encouraged by Cassian. Addressing certain holy brothers in A.D. 428, he writes: "You, by your instructions, have stirred up monks, not only before all, to seek the common life of the cœnobia, but even to thirst eagerly for the sublime life of the anchorite." The conferences were arranged with such care "that they are suited to both modes of life, whereby you have made not only the countries of the West, but even the islands, to flourish with great crowds of brethren."[34]

It was these islands, no doubt the Stoechades and others, that our saint visited in the Tyrrhene Sea. St. Honoratus, too, the friend of Cassian, "honoured," as he says in the preface to the 18th conference, "in his name and in his works," received him, doubtless, with open arms. All flocked to Honoratus, says his biographer, S. Hilarius, "for what country, what nation is there that has not citizens in his monastery?"[35] It was a school of Theology and Christian Philosophy, as well as an asylum for literature and art. Cassian advised his monks

[33] Ruffi, vol. 2, p. 135.

[34] Cassian, *Preface to 18th Conference.*

[35] Omnes undique ad illum, confluebant. Etenim quæ adhuc terra quæ natio in Monastereo illius Cives non habet?—S. Hilar. Vita S. Honor. C. 175, S. Honoratus died in 428.

to avoid bishops—that is, to remain laymen. The Monastery of St. Victor did not make any provision for studies preparatory to the priesthood.

There can be little doubt that our apostle made his theological studies "in the nursery of bishops and saints." St. Honoratus became the metropolitan of Arles (Arelatensis) and died A.D. 428. The island is still called after him—L'Isle de S. Honorat. This was the tradition of the Irish Church. Tirechan says "He was in one of the islands, which is called Aralanensis (*i.e.*, Sancti Honorati Arelatensis), 30 years, as Bishop Ultan testified to me." St. Lupos, a disciple of St. Germanus, was at this time a student at Lerins. He was soon after chosen by Troyes for its bishop, and accompanied St. Germanus to Britain in 429. St. Germanus became Bishop of Auxerre in 418, and immediately founded there an establishment, which became one of the most celebrated abbeys in France of the Middle Ages.[36]

[36] Erat hautem in una ex insulis quæ dicitur aralanensis, annis XXX,, mihi testante Ultano episcopo. The letter numerals are of course, as frequently happens, erroneous. *Trip. Life*, R.S., 302. The Scholiast on Fiace refers to the island of *Alanensis* as the place where St. Patrick got the staff of Jesus. See *Trip. Life*, 420.

CHAPTER X.

THE COMING OF ST. PATRICK.—II.

THE tradition of the Irish Church is that our Saint studied under Germanus. This is corroborated by the testimony of Hericus (834-883), who was a monk in his monastery. Referring to the disciples of St. Germanus, he says:—

Since the glory of the father shines in the training of the children, of the many sons in Christ whom St. Germanus is believed to have had as disciples in religion, let it suffice to make mention here, very briefly, of one most famous—Patrick, the Apostle all by himself (*peculiaris*), of the Hibernian region, as the record of his work proves. Subject to that most holy discipleship for eighteen years, he drank in no little knowledge in Holy Scripture from the stream of so great a well-spring. Germanus sent him by Segetius, his priest, to Celestine, Pope of Rome, approved of by whose judgment, supported by whose authority, and strengthened by whose blessing, he went on his way to Ireland.[1]

The Scholiast on Fiacc says:—"Germanus, abbot of the city called Altiodorus (*i.e.*, Autissiodorum, Auxerre). It is with him that Patrick read, and Burgundy is the name of the province in which that city stands. In the south in Italy that province used to be, but it is more correct to say it is in the Gauls."[2]

The geography of Burgundy is complex. There was at one time a Cisjuran Burgundy, the capital of which was Arles, "in Italy in the South." There was a Transjuran Burgundy

[1] Et quoniam gloria patris in suorum clarescit moderamine filiorum, multos quos in Christo filios in religione creditur habuisse discipulos, unius tantum ejusdemque famossissimi castigata brevitate sufficiet inseri mentionem, Patricius ut gestorum ejus series prodit Hibernicæ peculiaris apostolus regionis sanctissimo ei discipulatui octodecim addictus annis non mediocrem e tanti vena fontis in Scripturis cœlestibus hausit eruditionem . . . ad Sanctum Cœlestinum urbis Romæ papam per Segetium presbyterum suum eum direxit . . . Cujus Judicio approbatus auctoritate fultus, benedictione denique roboratus Hiberniæ partes expetiit.—*Acta SS. Boll*, vol. 34, p. 270, ed. 1868, July 31st.

It is right to state that in an earlier life by Constantius about A.D. 488 no mention is made of St. Patrick, but this negative evidence is not of much weight.

Eighteen (Octodecim) years is a mistake; probably scribal.

[2] See Irish Tract also, which is given with translation in "Moran's Essays," p. 248.

north of this. And later there was the province of Burgundy in the Kingdom of France, in the north of which was situated Auxerre, 107 miles S.E. of Paris. The Scholiast has also a Scholium on "*La German andes in descairt Letha* (with Germanus in the south, in the southern part of Letha), which is important:—"Letha, *i.e.*, Latium, which is also called Italy. Howbeit Germanus was in the Gauls, as Beda says; Lethaig, (Letevians) that is *in latitudine*, in the South of Gaul, by the Tyrrhene Sea."[3] This seems to imply that the Lethaig, or Letavia and Italia, were each south of the Gauls by the Tyrrhene Sea, in his view.

The Cymri, in their dialect called Brittany Llydaw, which Geoffrey of Monmouth rendered in Latin, Letavia. It means "litorale" (coast-land), and it may be connected with "litus." It was, no doubt, originally co-extensive with Armorica, though, at a later period, after the immigration of the Britons the name was usually applied in a restricted sense. It is to be further observed that the name of the river Lys, on which Taruanna stood, was Letia, which is nearer in sound to Letha than either Latium or Letavia.

The author of the first part of Fiacc's Hymn in the eighth century intends to follow the *Confession*, and, no doubt, was acquainted with the Life by Muirchu. He says:—"Gennair Patraice innemthur, ised adfet hiscelaib," (Patrick was born in Nemthur, 'tis this he tells us in his books). These books were the *Confession* and the *Epistle*, to Coroticus, which are styled the Libri Patricii in our texts. *Adfet* used to be translated "as is told," but the true meaning is "as he says," which corresponds to Muirchu's "ut ipse ait."

This Nemthur appears in most if not in all the subsequent lives. We suggest that "genair in Némthur" = *natus est ad Taberniam*. Thur or Tor would thus represent *Taber*, and *Nem* would represent *niam*, the word being arranged *Nemthur* to meet the exigencies of the metre. We are not, however, dependent on linguistic considerations such as these alone to prove that "Tabernia" represents Taruanna. No higher authority on this point could be cited than M. Desjardins, the

[3] *Trip. Life*, p. 418.
Kellesch, *Sprachen Ersch.*, S. 143.
Indogermanische Forschungen, iv., 85 (Thurnespen).

author of the "Geography of Roman Gaul," and the "Geography of Gaul after the Table of Peutinger," a magnificent edition of which he edited (1874). In the last-mentioned work he gives (1) a summary or abstract of the names that appear in the Table of Peutinger, and (2) an abstract of the transformations or variants these names underwent during the Middle Ages, as he found them written "in ancient authors and inscriptions and on medals."—(p. xvii.)

In the *Geography of Roman Gaul* he tells us (ii. 489) "The Morini, rendered less barbarous, no doubt, by the intercourse the Portus Iccius (Boulogne) procured them, must have had at a remote epoch 'a centre' at Tarvanna (Therouanne) which became their 'chef lieu de cité under the Romans.' In the Historical Introduction and the Geography, according to the Table of Peutinger (86), he gives the transformations or variants of the name *Tarvanna, i.e.*, Therouanne on the Lys. The variants of the name he states thus, *Teruenna, Taverna, Teruentia.*" Now *Taverna* = Taberna or Tabernia, the word we find in the text of the Confession. It is also = *Tauerna*, which we have suggested was the Gaelic pronunciation of *Tabernia*. And this brings us back to the linguistic point from which we started—to ꝛoꝛ ꝺꝺꝺnn, the fenced town or huttery of the river Lys.

The Scholiast on Fiacc finds it necessary to tell his readers where Nemthur is situate, "In Nemthor, that is a city which is in North Britain—namely, Ail Cluade (Rock of Clyde)." There is no evidence whatever that Ail Cluade, now Dumbarton, was ever known as Nem-Thor. It was known as Ꝺún-Ꝺꞃıꞇaın, *i.e.*, the Fort of the Britons of Strathclyde. There were neither decurions, Christians in thousands, or priests there at the end of the fourth century. The following extract from the *Edinburgh Review* accurately represents the latest and best opinion on the Roman occupation of Scotland:—

In 124 Hadrian, who loved strong frontiers, fortified the isthmus between the Tyne and Solway, and declared the Roman advance to be ended. Twenty years later Antoninus Pius built a second wall across the isthmus between the Forth and the Clyde,[4] still surviving in broken fragments. But the Roman occupation of Scotland was limited, it was

[4] Ail Cluade is at this northern wall, which runs north of, and near to, the river Clyde. See Haverfield's map, Britannia (1900).

purely military. It hardly lasted forty years. Recent investigations into the inscriptions, coins, and other remains of Roman origin found in Scotland show that all the land north of the Cheviots was lost to Rome before the end of the second century. From henceforward the Roman frontier was Hadrian's Wall, with outlying forts at one or two places like Birens and Rochester, commanding the easiest passes into Caledonia.

The land immediately south of the wall as far as the hills extend was a purely military district. Throughout Cumberland, Westmore land and Lancashire, on the west coast, and the North and West Ridings on the east coast, we meet no traces of orderly civil life, of towns or villas, of trade or commerce, in Roman days. The Italian city system did not spread in Britain. Its characteristic was a self-governing municipality. There was a senate, elected magistrature, and a body of electing towns-people, who all enjoyed the rights of Roman citizens; there was besides a dependent territory, which might be fifty miles across. Towns of this kind bore the title of Colonia or Municipium, and were freely planted at various epochs in the western provinces of the empire. They appear in every province where the higher civilisations of Rome found entrance. They mark its advent, they assist in its expansion. Britain could boast of only five—Verulamium, just outside St. Albans; Camulodunum, now Colchester; Lincoln, York, and Glesum, now Gloucester.[5]

We have now exhausted the space at our disposal for this part of our subject, and we fear that in addition we have exhausted the patience of our readers. We regret that we cannot notice in detail the views of Cardinal Moran, Lanigan, Stokes, Todd, Cashel Hoey, Malone, Olden, Barry, Morris, Bury, Archbishop Healy, and many others; but we are constrained to abstain from controversy.

There are three tests our readers can apply to each suggested birthplace: (1) Were there several thousand adult Christians with many priests there? (2) Were there *decurions* there? (3) Would an ordinary voyage from Erin to it take three days?

St. Patrick does not tell us how long he was in the islands of the Tyrrhene Sea.

After a few years (he says) I was again amongst the Britons with my relatives, who received me as a son, and in all sincerity entreated me that even now, after such great sufferings as I had endured, I would

[5] "Roman Britain," *Edinburgh Review*, vol. 189 (1899), p. 369. See also Mr. Haverfield's map, and succinct account of Roman Britain in Poole's "Historical Atlas," plate xv. (1896, etc). The views in both are in substantial agreement.

never leave them, and there even in the very bosom of the night I saw a man named Victoricus coming as it were from Hibernia with innumerable letters, and he gave me one of them. And I read the beginning of the letter containing "The voice of the Irish," and while I was reading aloud the beginning of the letter, I myself thought, indeed, in my mind that I heard the voice of those who were near the wood of Foclat, which is close by the Western Sea. And they cried out: "We entreat thee, holy youth, that thou come and walk still (*adhuc*) amongst us." And I was deeply moved in heart, and could read no further, and so I awoke.

The words in the text are *ad hue ambulas inter nos.* The meaning attached to *ad hue* here is important. It represents continuing action in a context like the present, and means "still." We suggest that our saint knew the voice of the children by the wood of Foclat because he heard it before near Killala in Mayo, where he took ship for France. This supports the view we have already presented. Victoricus, the name of the man who came with the letters, was also, as we have seen, the name of the apostle of the Morini who suffered at Amiens in A.D. 303, and now announced his name to St. Patrick to support the petition of the children. In the Confession the Saint speaks only of Victoricus once, viz., at this place. He does not mention Victor at all. In the Armagh text of Muirchu, Victor is the name given to the angel who frequently visited the saint. The Brussels text, however, has both Victoricus and Victor. Victor and Victoricus came to be regarded as one angel, and from the time of Tirechan Victor was, according to the tradition of the Church, the Guardian Angel of our apostle. The Scholiast to Fiacc goes further and says, what we do not find stated elsewhere, that St. Victor "was the common angel of the Scottic race. As Michael was the angel of the race of the Hebrews,[6] so Victor was of the Scots. Hence he took care of them through Patrick."

A more difficult question to answer is who and where were the Britons amongst whom were the relatives of the saint. Loth fixes the *commencement* of the emigration of the Britons into Brittany between 430 and 440 A.D."[7] Le Moyne de la Broderie fixes the date of the establishment of the immigrants

[6] *Trip. Life*, 415, refers to Daniel, x. 21, xii., 1, also p. 425.

[7] *Rev. Celt*, xxii. (1901) 84.

at 460 A.D.,[8] which corresponds with the date assigned by Lobinau, 458 A.D.[9] These immigrants cannot be the Britons referred to. There were, however, Britons further north, a remnant, probably, of the Britanni who passed into Britain, and have left traces on the Continent from the Elbe to the Channel. In the time of Pliny they were mentioned as a tribe of, or at least, as adjacent to, the Morini, and there is still a hamlet near Etaples called Bretagne.[10]

The editors of the Delphin edition of Pliny say in a note: "The Britons certainly occupied the territory in which are now the towns of Etaples, Montreuil, Hesdin, and Ponthieu, to the river Somme; and if credit is to be given to the author of the "Libellus Provinciarum Romanarum" were part of the Morini."[11] They were thus placed very close to the Letia (Lys) the great trade route on which Taruanna was situated. The scholiast on Fiacc represents the saint as going from Ail Cluade with his father "on a journey to the Britons of Armuire Letha," *i.e.*, "co Bretnaib Ledach," for there were relatives of theirs there at that time. The Letia would be adequately represented in Gaelic by "Letha." Letavia as a name for Brittany did not then exist, and there seems to be no reason why the word should not be applied to the Britons near the river Letia.[12] The scholiast, after stating that the saint was born at Ail Cluade, says that he was captured whilst with his relatives in Armuire Letha, in France.[13] Our view is that he was born in this territory. The old Roman Breviary describes him as "genere Brito." The Breviary of Rheims, "In maritimo Britanniæ territorio." The Breviary of Rouen, "In Britannia Gallicana." Now, the only Britannia Gallicana that existed at the time of his birth was that above mentioned.

The beginning of the fifth century witnessed the birth of a formidable heresy, all the more dangerous because

[8] *Histoire de Bretagne* (1896), t. I. 218.

[9] *Histoire de Bretagne*, t. I.-1. I. 1. (1707).

[10] Roget de Belloquet, *Ethnogenie Celtique, types Gaulois*, p. 79 note (1861).

[11] Pliny, "Deinde Menapii, Morini (Therouanne), Oromansaci, juncti pago qui Gessoriacus (Boulogne), vocatur, *Britanni*, Ambiani (Amiens), Bellovasci" (Beauvais), N.H. IV. c. 31. The Britanni occupy, seemingly, a central position between Therouanne, Boulogne, Amiens and Beauvais.

[12] For Letia see Valesius *Notitia Galliarum sub voce*

[13] *Trip. Life*, 413.

it was intellectual, having its origin in a perplexed and obscure philosophy. Pelagius, the founder of it, was, probably, born in Britain, of Scottic parents. St. Augustine, Orosius, and Prosper call him a "Briton." St. Jerome, without directly naming him, refers to him as most stupid, weighed down with Scottic porridge.[14] And, again, as follows:—"And Grunnius (*i.e.*, Rufinus) himself being mute, he barks by the dog Albinus (*i.e.*, Pelagius), tall and big-boned, whose kick is worse than his bite, for he has parentage from the Scottic race from the neighbourhood of the Britons. Like (another) Cerberus, according to the fables of the poets, he must be struck down with a spiritual club that he may be silent with an eternal silence, like his master Pluto (*i.e.*, Rufinus, who was then dead)."[15] It is not easy to find out here where the rhetoric ends and the facts begin. It was fortunate for the Church that all our saints had not the same command of language as that illustrious scholar. St. Augustine, who knew Pelagius personally, presents a different estimate, and writes—"Pelagius whilst staying at Rome was held in great honour, and was loved by Paulinus of Nola as a servant of God, and I not only did love him but do love him, though now with a desire that he may be delivered from sentiments adverse to the grace of God." The principal errors of the Pelagians were the denial of the necessity for grace and the denial of the transmission of sin from the Fall of Adam. It was to refute these views that

[14] Stolidissimus et Scottorum pultibus prægravatus.

[15] Ipseque mutus latrat per Albinum canem, grendem et corpulentum, et qui calcibus magis possit sævire quam dentibus; habet enim progeniem Scoticæ gentis de Britannorum vicinia; qui juxta fabulas poetarum, instar Cerberi spirituali percutiendus est clava, ut æterno cum suo magistro Plutone silentio conticescat. Verum hoc alias.—Migne 24, 758.

Orosius says he was a man "largis humeris, crasso collo, et praegrandi vultu."

Todd misses the *vis consiquentiae* here. Life St. Patrick 190. It is to be found in the allusion to "hoofs"! (Calcibus)! The *vis comica* is ambushed with Attic sparkle in "hoofs."

> Its proper pow'r to hurt each creature feals,
> Bulls aim their horns, and Asses lift their heels.
> 'Tis a boar's talent not to kick but hug,
> And no man wonders he's not stung by Pug.

St. Augustine wrote many works, commencing with one on "Forgiveness of Sins and Baptism," in 412—an important date, as we shall see hereafter.

This controversy led up a few years later to semi-Pelagianism, in which Cassian became, or was supposed to be, involved, owing to some expressions in his 13th Conference, which are somewhat ambiguous, and may, at the worst, have represented a passing phase of thought. He was certainly regarded as orthodox in 430, as in that year, on an appeal from Rome, he wrote the *De Incarnatione* to refute the Nestorians, and would in all probability have found no difficulty in accepting the doctrine settled at the Council of Orange in 529, which condemned semi-Pelagianism, whilst declaring that predestination to evil was not to be taught.

The semi-Pelagians believed in the doctrine of the fall of man and acknowledged the necessity of real grace to man's restoration. They even admitted that this grace must be "prevenient" to such acts of will as resulted in Christian good works. But some of them thought—and herein consisted the error called semi-Pelagian—that nature unaided could take the first step towards its recovery by desiring to be healed through faith in Christ. The denial of the necessity of *initial* grace opened a door to Pelagianism, and endangered the doctrine of the Redemption which lay at the very root of Christianity. This explanation is necessary to enable our readers to understand the views we shall present as to the *Confession* of St. Patrick, who must have been familiar with the details of this controversy.

In the third decade of the fifth century the Pelagian movement had spread widely, had developed a particularly dangerous energy in Wales, and threatened to move Westwards to taint the beginnings of the faith in Ireland, where the Church was still in its infancy. The situation was grave, and manifestly called for energetic action on the part of the ecclesiastical authorities at Rome. Celestine was then Pope (422-432). Leo the Great was then Archdeacon. Palladius was then a deacon.

Prosper has the following entry in his Chronicle:—

429 A.D.—Agricola, a Pelagian, the son of Severianus, a Pelagian bishop, corrupted the British Church by the publication of his dogmas; but on the action of the deacon Palladius, Pope Cœlestine sent

Germanus, the bishop of Auxerre, as his representative; and, dislodging the heretics, put the Britons on the straight path of the Catholic Faith.[16]

Prosper went on a mission to Pope Celestine in 431, and was afterwards secretary to Leo the Great. The last entry in his Chronicle is under the date 455. The deacon Palladius, he tells us further, "was sent to the Scots believing in Christ,[17] the first bishop (who was sent)." This entry is under date 431, the year in which the Œcumenical Council was held at Ephesus. We see from these entries that Rome was very attentive, at that time, to what was passing in the Western end of the world. According to Constantius, a monk of Lyons, who wrote a life of Germanus within about 40 years after his death, Germanus and Lupus were selected at a synod of the bishops of Gaul, which is not inconsistent with the statement of Prosper. Constantius adds that the Britons came in crowds every day to hear the apostolic bishops, and the divine word was spread abroad, not only in the churches, but in the streets, in the fields, and in the bye-ways, so that the Catholics were everywhere confirmed in the faith, and having been led astray recognised the way of amendment.[18] From this some writers have very reasonably inferred that Germanus and Lupus addressed the people in a vernacular

[16] Agricola Pelagianus Severiani episcopi Pelagiani filius, ecclesias Brittaniæ dogmatis sui insinuatione (publication) corrumpit, sed ad insinuationem? [actionem] Palladii diaconi papæ Cælestinus Germanum Autissiodorensem episcopum vice sua mittit et deturbatis hereticis Britannos ad Catholicam fidem dirigiti

Insinuatio, then, meant putting on the register and publishing. Mommsen T. *Chron. Min. Mon. Germ tom,* ix. page 472.

Wilhelm Levison has written an interesting article on "Bischof Germanus von Auxere," in the 29th vol. of the Neues Archiv der Gesellschaft fur ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde—(1903). Referring to Zimmer he observes "Desen ausfuhrungen bei allem scharfsinn bisweilen durch ein ubermass von hypothesen beeintrachtigt sind." And of Pflug Harting, who wrote against the authenticity of the Confession [Neue Heidelberger Jarhbusher iii. 71] he says: "Was Pflug Hartung gegen die Echteit der Confessio und Epistola vorgebracht hat scheint mir nicht genugend zu deren Verwerfung."

[17] Ad Scotos in Christum credentes ordinatus a papa Celestino Palladius primus episcopus mittitur.—Mommsen, *Chron, Min.* i. 473.

[18] Et cum quotidie irruente frequentia stiparentur divinus sermo non solum in ecclesiis verum etiam per trivia, per rura, per devia diffundebatur ut passim et fide Catholici firmarentur et depravati viam correctionis agnoscerent.—Vita, 19, 23 Stubbs' *Concil.*, p 17.

tongue. This conclusion is warranted, if the testimony of Constantius on this point can be relied on.

The words of Prosper deserve close examination. Palladius was sent "to the believers" after the Council at Ephesus had condemned Pelagius. He was the first bishop sent to them. Does this mean that he was to be bishop of the Irish, that he was sent "as their bishop?" Prosper does not say so, and we venture to think that this was not likely. That Palladius should have been sent, not only to the Scots, but to the western regions infected with the Pelagian heresy, to declare authoritatively "a latere," what was decided at the Council and what were the final views of Rome, is what we should have expected. His mission, we should say, was primarily to the clergy. Would Rome have sent him to the *unbelieving* Scots to convert them? Would it have sent a missionary to talk to them in Latin when it had ready to its hand a tried and trusted man who could talk to the Gaels in Gaelic?

We shall now lay before our readers the substance of the statements made by Malbrancq, in his history of the Morini, on this point. The Rev. James Malbrancq was born at St. Omer in 1579, was received into the Society of Jesus in 1599, and died at Tournay in 1653. "Malbrancq," says M. Denoyers, a high authority on ecclesiastical antiquities, in an article on the ancient diocese of Therouanne, "devoted his life to the study of the Morini, visited the ecclesiastical establishments in the province, and never fails to indicate the authority of the sources to be consulted."[19] There existed in his time an ancient muniment which has since been lost—the *Chronicon Morinense*—which contained an abridged narrative of the ecclesiastical events and the lives of the bishops of the diocese of Therouanne, taken from the original documents preserved in the archives. It was kept in the chapter-house of the bishopric of Ypres, to which it had been carried by the canons of Therouanne, who took refuge in that town after the destruction of the capital of the Morini in 1553 by the Emperor Charles the Fifth. Malbrancq had before him the Life by Probus, and asserts in the 26th chapter of the *De Morinis*, that St. Patrick belonged for some years to the diocese of Therouanne, as "the MSS., and the

[19] *Societe d'Histoire de France.* Annuaire for 1863, p. 627.

Catalogues of the Bishops of this diocese, and the Life of St. Arnulph, of Soissons, testify." [20]

In the Catalogue of the Bishops—and this is the all-important fact—he found the name of St. Patrick not included in the direct line, but inserted at the side in the Catalogue." He was an *adlatus*, or assistant bishop, and so properly placed at the side (*adlatus*), and not in the direct line of the bishops. "He was not wedded to the Church (of the Morini)," adds Malbrancq, "since he was already betrothed to the Church over the Sea (of Erin)." [21]

He was placed by Germanus amongst the Morini, because his assistance was required there at the time, and he could easily pass over thence to the Irish, when the time was ripe for missionary action there. A recent writer of great authority on the Registers of Therouanne, observes—"On the authority of the Catalogue, the most ancient and authentic, of the bishops of the Morini, it must be admitted that there was no duly constituted bishop (*titulaire*, a technical word) before Antimond (501 A.D.?) and we cannot regard as suffragans (a technical word) the holy bishops missionary and regionary from the third to the sixth century, who evangelized large parts of this vast country of the Morini. St. Lieven, for instance, landed there from Ireland, and suffered martyrdom in 647, on his way to Flanders and Brabant. As to St. Patrick, consecrated bishop by Pope Celestine a short time before his mission to Ireland in 432, he may have traversed the Morini, and evangelized it on his way, but it was not with the titulus (title) of suffragan bishop. See the Dissertation of Malbrancq, *De Morinis*, I., 622-624.[22]

This we have already referred to. The learned Abbé thus adopts and corroborates, with some necessary technical qualifications, the statements of Malbrancq.

[20] Patricium quem etsi ut suum suspiciat et vindicet Hibernia, Morinos tamen etiam aliquot annis posse amplecti, et MSS. et Episcoporum hujus Dioeceseos Catalogi, et S. Arnulphi Suessionensis vita abunde testantur.—Malbrancq *De Morinis* tom. 1., c. 26, pp. 168-171. Tornaei Nerviorum, 1639.

[21] Patricius ad Morinos quidem accessit episcopus sed non eam sibi desponsavit ecclesiam, cum transmarina addicta esset in sponsam; idcirco Catalogi Episcoporum Morinensium non eum recta includunt seriese d ad latus adseiscunt episcopum.—*Ibid.*

[22] Bled O., Abbé.—Registeres des evéques de Therouanne p. 7, v. 35. (1902).

It is to this period, the exact length of which cannot be stated, perhaps a year or two only, that, in our opinion the part of the epistle to Coroticus which is genuine must be assigned. Coroticus was probably a robber chief over a predatory people on the border of the Morini who were at least nominally Christians, and the fellow-citizens (Roman) of our saint. In one of his forays at Easter time, when the baptisms took place at that period, he carried off numbers of the newly-baptised, and our saint appealed, not so much to him, as to such faith as existed in his lawless fellow-citizens. Most of the present text of the epistle is, in our opinion, a later addition. We cannot, however, pursue the matter further here.[23]

When Germanus arrived at Boulogne with Lupus in 429 his first thought was to take our apostle with them. But on considering the matter with Lupus, they decided that he should remain there for some time longer until the Pelagian troubles had been disposed of. This is Malbrancq's view which appears to be very reasonable. We cannot conceive it possible that the priests at Therouanne would falsify their records by inserting the name of St. Patrick. The statement in the life of St. Arnulph, though entitled to some weight, is of secondary importance, as it probably represents only a tradition. Malbrancq has it that St. Patrick was consecrated by Pope Celestine bishop for the Irish, and that his ordination and mission, in conjunction with the work of Germanus in Britain, was part of the campaign against Pelagianism in the West. If his view be right, Palladius was not appointed bishop for the Irish. There could not be two co-ordinate bishops for one diocese, and at that time, if we remember rightly, a bishop could not desert his espoused church, even to become bishop of Rome itself. Muirchu says Palladius did not wish "to spend time in a land which was not his own." This, we make no doubt is quite true. Muirchu says he was sent to convert the Irish, but being wild and rough they did not easily receive his teaching, so he crossed the first sea on his way home and died among the Britons.[24]

[23] The Patrician Documents will be the subject of the next chapter.

[24] Neque et ipse voluit transigere tempus in terra non sua, sed reversus ad eum qui misit illum. Revertente vero eo hinc et primo mari transito coeptoque terrarum itinere in Britonum finibus vita functus—Muirchu. Analec. Boll., I. 553.
Insulam sub Crumali rigore positam.—*Trip. Life*, R.S., 272.

There can be very little doubt, if his life had been spared, he would have used his best endeavours to compose matters there, and the Pelagian trouble might not have broken out afresh, requiring a second visit from Germanus thirteen years later.

Malbrancq's views found no acceptance with the Bollandist editor, Papebroche. He had constructed a wonderful *chronotaxis*—an arrangement of the life by years, giving time and place for everything. Malbrancq's views did not agree with that *chronotaxis*, consequently his views were wrong. The Catalogue of the bishops was, it was suggested, suppositious; and the life of Arnulph, according to the copy in his possession, said nothing about St. Patrick. But there was a life a few miles off at Ypres that did so refer to St. Patrick, and the Catalogue of the bishops was there for all men to see; and Malbrancq, who published the *De Morinis* in 1629, was alive, at Tournay, within easy reach of Antwerp, where the publication of the *Acta Sanctorum* commenced in 1643, and he lived for ten years longer. Papebroche playfully suggests that in his anxiety to exalt the name of his native land he disregarded the lawful claims of his neighbours. Surely then was the time to bring him to trial and compel him to prove his innocence. Papebroche forebore from doing so. He adds, however, in mitigation of Malbrancq's lapse from virtue: "If Malbrancq had read my *chronotaxis* he would have omitted his twenty-sixth chapter."[25] We are of opinion that the perusal of that *Wahres Curiosum* would have had no such result.

Further, we submit that St. Patrick is the unnamed bishop referred to in the following extract from Prosper, which is found in the "Contra Collatorem," a treatise written by Prosper against the semi-Pelagianism imputed to Cassian.

Wherefore also the Pontiff Celestine (+ Ap. 28th, 432), of venerable memory, commanded Celestius (a disciple of Pelagius) to be driven from the borders of all Italy . . . and with no less zealous care he delivered the Brittanias from the same disease, when he drove from that secluded place on the Ocean some enemies of grace who were settling

[25] *Acta* SS. viii., 526 (Ed. 1865).

in the soil of their origin, and by ordaining a bishop for the Scots, whilst he laboured to keep the Roman Island Catholic, made also the barbarous island Christian.[26]

This work consists of an examination of the 13th Collation of Cassian, a discourse of the Abbot Chaeremon on the Protection of God. At the conclusion Prosper expresses a hope that the doctrines therein may be condemned by Pope Sixtus (432-440) as they had been condemned by Celestine, his predecessor.

From this it is clear that it was written after the death of Pope Celestine and during the Pontificate of Sixtus, *i.e.*, between 432 and 440, and there is nothing except conjecture to fix on any particular year within these limits.

Prosper says it is twenty years and more (et amplius) since the fight began, that is since 412, when St. Augustine published the "De Peccatorum Meritis" his first anti-Pelagian treatise. On this ground Holder, Egger, and Hacuck suggest 433 or 434 as the date of publication of Prosper's *Contra Collatorem*,[27] whilst Zimmer says 437. If the bishop ordained was Palladius, Prosper would have named him as he did on two other occasions in his Chronicon. If Palladius was sent to convert the unbelieving Irish, he failed, and Prosper would not have ventured to make a statement notoriously contrary to the facts, which was certain to be challenged at once by vigilant adversaries. The statement, moreover, it should be added, is found in the 21st chapter, inserted apparently at the last moment, as the work is summarised, and virtually concluded, in the 19th.[28] Before this the news of the conversion of Laeghaire had reached Prosper.

The bishop then who was sent "to the Scots" (ad Scotos) is different from the bishop sent "for the Scots" (Scotis) and the

[26] Unde et venerabilis memoriæ Pontifex Celestinus Cœlestium totius Italiæ finibus jussit extrudi nec vero segniori cura ab hoc eodem morbo Brittanias liberavit, quando quosdam inimicos gratiæ, solum suæ originis occupantes, etiam ab illo secreto exclusit Oceani; et ordinato *Scotis* episcopo, dum Romanam insulam studet servare Catholicam fecit etiam barbaram Christianam. —Prosper Tiro. "Contra Collatorem."—Migne, Tom. 51, p. 271.

[27] The Collatio was a conference or discourse on spiritual matters amongst religious by way of question and answer, "by which method doubts were dispelled and truth made clear."—Migne 51, p. 573.

[28] *Neucs Archiv.* (Egger). *Real. Encyclopedie* (Hacuck). *Celtic Church* (Zimmer).

latter was none other than St. Patrick. Palladius was sent to the "believers," St. Patrick mainly for the "unbelievers."

Some writers have considered that the effect of the evidence we have adduced as to the Roman Mission is greatly weakened if not outweighed by the fact that no mention is made of it in the Confession. This arises, in our judgment, from an incomplete understanding of its object and scope. It is not and does not profess to be a biography. The continued thread of the narrative is not in externals. These are disjointed, unconnected, and incomplete, suggesting throughout that something must have been lost or omitted. And so we are not surprised to find, as we shall see in our next chapter, that attempts were made at an early period to supply in some measure these supposed omissions, and additions were made to the original text which is to be found, we think, in the Book of Armagh and nowhere else. The Confession is in truth a profession and a testimony—a profession of faith in the necessity for grace from the very beginning to the very end of life; and a testimony borne after a long and chequered career to its supernatural efficacy. It is primarily a record of inward experiences, and, for its length, the most profoundly spiritual writing in the literature of the Church after the time of St. Paul. External events, giving time and place, are used merely as a framework in which are set the inward occurrences "The Lord," he says, "took care of me, before I knew Him and before I had wisdom. Wherefore I cannot, and it is not expedient that I should, keep silent as to the favours which were so many and the grace which was so great (tanta beneficia et tantam gratiam), which He vouchsafed to bestow on me in the land of my captivity." And then he had the vision in the night time and took flight and left the man with whom he had been for six years, and "he went in the strength of the Lord, who directed his way for good." And so when men and dogs were starving in the wilderness he lifted up his voice in prayer, and his prayer was heard by the God of love, who fed His prophet from the mouths of the ravens, and conveyed unseen supplies to the widow's cruse. And, again, in the night time he was seized by evil spirits, and he cried for mercy to the God of Pity, and the sun burst forth, and the evil spirits were chased back into the darkness. So after many

years he went again among his own people, and he wavered, perhaps, between a life of contemplative and easy piety on the one hand, and the strenuous and perilous life of "a servant laborious and serviceable to Christ" on the other. Victoricus then came to him with the letter beginning "The voice of the Irish," and he thought he heard voices which he recognised from the Wood of Foclat appealing to him to walk still amongst them. He did not accept this vision as a command, but as a grace—as a call to sacrifice, but as a sure sign and token of God's benediction upon him; and he concludes with the ever memorable words, "I beg that no one may ever say if I have ever done or proved the truth of anything successfully [secundum ?] however little, that I, ignorant as I am, have done it. But judge ye, and let it be believed most truly, that it was the grace of God. And this is my confession before I die."[29]

The interest in this text is mainly spiritual. The canvas is otherwise tame enough. There is little light and shade. It lacks the deceptive charm of contrasted colours. The world loves the story of the prodigal son, and is anxious in particular to have a minute and detailed account of his doings while he was prodigal. This interest is happily absent from the life of our apostle. Pornographic perfumes have at all times a sickening odour, even when employed for pious uses. Saints with a past are manifestations of God's mercy; saints without a past are manifestations of His grace. Our apostle was a child of grace, and his confession is inspired throughout with its holy influence. He did not, it is true, formulate principles or define and lay down doctrines. His was the practical wisdom to know when mysteries should be left mysterious. He did not regard grace as an unseen force to be distributed in volts or measured by foot-pounds. Grace was to him as a whispering wind, blowing softly on the withered foliage of the soul, and filling the leaves again with the freshness and the beauty of the spring time.

[29] Precor . . ut nemo unquam dicat quod mea ignorentia si aliquid pusillum egi vol demonstaverim secundum; sed arbitramini et verissime credatur quod donum Dei fuisset. Et hæc est confessio mea antequam morior.

CHAPTER XI.

THE PATRICIAN DOCUMENTS.

THE Confession deals very briefly with what happened after the arrival of our Apostle in Erin. Our readers will be glad to have the narrative as nearly in his own words as our translation can make it. We also give the Latin text, as the *ipsissima verba* of the Saint are of the highest importance:—

[TRANSLATION.]

But it would be long (he says) to relate all my labour in details, or even in part. Briefly, I may say, that the most pitiful (piissimus) God often rescued me from being enslaved, and from twelve perils by which my life was endangered, besides many snares, and things that I cannot find words to express; nor will I try the patience of my readers. But God is my Creator, who knows all things before they come to pass. For I am greatly indebted to God, who has given me such grace that many peoples (ꝑuata) should be born again to God through me, and that everywhere clergy should be ordained for people newly coming to the faith, whom the Lord took to himself (sumpsit) from the ends of the earth, as He had promised by His prophets—"To thee the heathen will come and say, our fathers made false idols, and there is no profit in them." . . .

Whence, then, has it come to pass that in Ireland they who never had any knowledge of God, but always hitherto worshipped idols [1] and unclean things have lately become a people of the Lord and are called Sons of God. The sons and daughters of the Scottic chieftains are seen to be monks and virgins of Christ (Filii Scotorum et filiæ regulorum monachi et virgines Christi videntur). . . . .

I call God to witness, on my soul, that I do not lie, neither [do I write] that there may be an importunity (occasio) on you, nor do I hope for honour from any man, for honour that is not yet seen but that the heart believes in sufficeth; but I see now that I am exalted by the Lord above measure in this world, and I am not worthy nor such that He should bestow this upon me, for I know that poverty and suffering are more becoming than riches and luxury. For Christ the Lord was poor for us. Now I, poor and miserable, even though I should wish for riches, have them not, neither do I judge myself in that I daily anticipate being murdered or trapped or reduced to slavery, or some misfortune overtaking me.

[1] The idols here referred to were not anthropomorphic, but representations of the sun and moon, etc., as we shall show in the next chapter.

Now I beg of those who believe and fear God, whosoever shall deign to look into and receive this writing which Patrick the sinner and unlearned truly has written in Ireland that no one may ever say if, I have done or proved the truth of anything successfully (secundum)[2] however little that I, ignorant as I am, have done it. But judge ye and let it be believed most truly that it was the grace of God (donum Dei). And this is my Confession before I die.

[Colophon.]

Thus far the book that Patrick wrote with his own hand. On the 17th day of March Patrick was translated to heaven.

Longum est hautem totum per singula enarrare laborem meum vel per partes. Breviter dicam qualiter piisimus Deus de servitute saepe (me) liberavit et de periculis duodecim quibus periclitata est anima mea praeter insidias multas et quæ verbis exprimere non valeo, nec injuriam, legentibus, faciam. Sed Deum auctorem (habeo) qui novit omnia etiam antequam fiant quia valde debitor sum Deo qui mihi tantam gratiam donavit ut populi multi per me in Deum renascerentur et ut clerici ubique illis ordinarentur ad plebem nuper venientem ad credulitatem quam sumpsit Dominus ab extremis terræ sicut olim promiserat per prophetas suos "Ad te gentes venient et dicent falsa comparaverunt patres nostri idola et non est in eis utilitas.

Unde autem Hiberione qui nunquam notitiam Dei habuerunt nisi idola et immunda usque semper coluerunt quo modo nuper facta est plebs Domini et filii Dei nuncupantur. Filii Scotorum et filiæ regulorum monachi et virgines Christi esse videntur. . . .

Ecce testem Deum invoco in animam meam quia non mentior, neque ut sit occasio vobis neque ut honorem spero ab aliquo viro. Sufficit enim honor qui nondum videtur sed corde creditur. Sed video jam in præsenti sæculo me supra modum, exaltatum a Domino. Et non eram dignus neque talis ut hoc mihi præstaret; dum scio melius convenit paupertas et calamitas quam divitiæ et deliciæ. Sed et Christus Dominus pauper fuit pro nobis. Ego vero miser et infelix etsi opes voluero jam non habeo neque me ipsum judico quia quotidie spero aut internecionem aut circumveniri aut redigi in servitutem sive occasio cujuslibet (fieri).

Sed precor credentibus et timentibus Deum quicunque dignatus fuerit inspicere vel recipere hanc scripturam quam Patricius peccator indoctus scilicet Hiberione conscripsit ut nemo unquam dicat quod mea ignorantia si aliquid pusillum egi vel demonstraverim secundum, sed arbitramini et piissime credatur quod donum Dei fuisset. Et hæc est confessio mea antequam morior.[3]

[The Colophon follows.]

Hucusque volumen quod Patricius manu conscripsit sua. Septima decima Martii die translatus est Patricius ad cœlos.

[2] Secundum is used adverbially. Whilo his "*om Dei placitum* A with z in margin." The Armagh text in the facsimile MS. and the Rolls series does not contain *Deiplacitum.*

[3] A facsimile of the Armagh text is given by Gilbert, Part II. Appendix III., which it is useful to refer to.

The Colophon is in the same handwriting as the rest of the text and as the heading, which was written, as we shall see, by Ferdomnach, and is continuous with it. It is difficult to say whether it originated with him or whether he found it in a text from which he copied it. The heading, which is in these words, "Incipiunt Libri Sancti Patricii Episcopi" [Here begin the Books of St. Patrick, bishop], seems to indicate that there were two Books before him in one "binding," not using the word binding in the modern sense. The word *Liber*, as the word *Book* in mediæval times, was applied to what we should now term a tract or a pamphlet as well as to a "volume." The "Books" here mentioned were, no doubt, those mentioned in the Tripartite Life and elsewhere —the Confession and the Epistle now usually called the Epistle to Coroticus. In the Cotton and Fell (2) MSS. the Epistle is introduced merely with the words "Explicit Liber primus incipit secundus." [The first Book ends (*i. e.*, the Confessio), the second Book begins (*i.e.*, the Epistle to Coroticus).] Now the Epistle to Coroticus is not copied into the Book of Armagh, but it would be straining the effect and import of the Colophon too far to assume that it was omitted because it was not in the handwriting of the saint. Why, then, was it omitted? Ferdomnach's work, as we shall see, was done under the supervision and direction of Torbach, the successor of the saint in the See of Armagh. Its omission was thus the deliberate act of the Irish Church as represented by its head, and not merely the individual choice of the learned scribe. We think it was omitted because the text before them was not, in their opinion, genuine. We cannot for one moment believe that the text of the Epistle was not before them, or that, having it before them, and believing it to be the genuine script of the saint, or a genuine copy thereof, they would have omitted or neglected to have it inscribed. The Bollandists took their copy from a codex in the Monastery of St. Vedast, at Noialle, near Arras. They state that it was joined on to the Confession in the Cordex without any distinctive title. This want they supplied, and placed at the head of the Epistle the title, "Epistle of St. Patrick to the Christian subjects of Coroticus." They observe that this Epistle was not written to Coroticus himself, but refers to

another letter written and sent to be delivered to him, which was lost.[4]

The following passage in the Epistle to Coroticus appears to be an extract from that letter:—

It is the custom of the Roman and Gallic Christians to send holy and suitable men to the Franks and to the other nations with so many thousands of solidi (say 8/- each) to redeem baptised captives; you (*i.e.*, Coroticus) so often slay them, and sell them to a foreign nation that knows not God. You deliver members of Christ as it were into a brothel (*quasi in lupanar tradis membra Christi*). What hope have you in God, or he who is of one mind with you, or becomes a partner with you by words of courtly approbation? (Qui te communicat verbis adulationis.)

This, it will be observed, is addressed directly to Coroticus. The genuine letter, which we call *letter* to distinguish it from the *Epistle*, as the Bollandists state, is lost.

We pause here to ask: is this language applicable to the supposed Coroticus, of Alclyde, or to Kerdigan, the son of Cynedda? Stokes observes on this:—

The passage proves that it (*i.e.*, the letter) must have been written while the Franks were Pagans, *i.e.*, before A.D. 496, and before they had crossed the Rhine and settled in Gaul, *i.e.*, before 428 A.D.[5]

If the latter date could be approximately fixed, say, before 432, with certainty, it would be most important; but we have made no independent investigation on this point.

The Epistle states, apparently in reference to the genuine letter and an extract from it:—

With my own hand I (*i.e.*, the saint), have written and composed these words and handed them to the soldiers (militibus the Roman soldiers) to be sent for the fellow-citizens of Coroticus. I will not say my fellow-citizens and the fellow-citizens of the Roman saints, but of demons, on account of their evil deeds . . . allies of the Scots and apostate Picts, who are bloody (sanguilentos sanguinare?) with the

[4] Boll. Acta SS, 17th March, vol. XI.. 534 (Ed. 1868). We are not aware whether there are an Explicit and Incipit in the Vedast M.S. If so, they are not given.

Professor Bury thinks "the scribe was hurried, and that in writing the *Confession* he 'scamped' his work for the same reason which impelled him to omit copying the Letter."—"Life of Patrick!" p. 227.

[5] *Trip. Life*, Introduction p. 1, c. 1, referring to Ferguson Patrician Documents 101.

blood of the innocent Christians whom I have begotten innumerably to God, and confirmed in Christ.[6] (*i.e.*, gave them the Holy Eucharist).

The Epistle continues :—

On the day after they were anointed neophytes while (the chrism) was shining on their foreheads they were cruelly slain by the abovementioned, and I sent a letter by a holy priest whom I had taught from infancy, with clerics, asking as a favour that they might grant us some of the plunder, or of the baptized captives they have taken, but they laughed at them.

The neophytes at that time were usually baptized together in numbers at Easter, anointed with chrism on the forehead, and clothed with white garments. This letter, as well as the letter to Coroticus, has been lost. We now come to the appeal to the Christian fellow-citizens of Coroticus. The Epistle says :—

I, therefore, earnestly beseech (you), who are holy and humble in heart, not to court the favour of (adulari), such persons (*i.e.*, the raiders), nor to take food or drink with them, nor to take their alms, until they rigorously do penance with tears. I earnestly entreat every servant of God as he has been eager in the past to be now the bearer of this letter, and that it be not withheld from anyone, but rather read before all the people, even in the presence of Coroticus.[7]

This clearly implies that the letter was to be read before people who understood Latin—who were the Roman fellow-citizens of the robbers, under the command of the robber chief, Coroticus. Would the people at Alclyde understand it?

Outside the Epistle, Coroticus is an "etymological" personage. There is a fable of a conflict of St. Patrick with a

[6] Manu mea scripsi atque condidi verba ista danda et tradenda militibus mittenda Corotoci non dico civibus meis *atque* civibus sanctorum Romanorum sed civibus demoniorum ob mala opera ipsorum (*ritu hostili in morte vivunt ?*) Socii Scotorum et Pictorum apostatarum.

White gives *neque* instead of *atque*, atque is, we hold, the true reading.

We understand "civil" here to mean fellow-citizens. "The robbers by order of Coroticus" are nowhere called subjects (subditi) nor is he called King or Prince. The words "invidet inimicus per tirannidem Coroticus" mean by the tyranny or cruelty of Coroticus, and do not imply that he was a *tyrannus* or ruler.

Innumerum, innumerably. The adjective is used adverbially like "verum" and "secundum." The text is corrupt here; we have not attempted to translate it. *Confirmed* is technical, and means here *gave them the Holy Eucharist.*

[7] Quæso plurimum ut quicunque famulus Dei ut promptus fuerit ut sit gerulus litterarum harum ut nequaquam subtrahatur sed magis potius legatur coram cunctis plebibus et presente ipso Corotico.

certain Coirthech (supposed by some to be Coroticus), King of Aloo, supposed to be Alclyde. It is found in the Brussels Codex, but not in the book of Armagh. The saint, for grave reasons, and under circumstances we cannot detail here, turned this monarch into a little fox (vulpecula.)![8]

The alternative Coroticus is Kerdigan, the son of Cynedda, the eponymus of Cardiganshire. It would require the genius of Moliére to describe adequately the linguistic transformation by which Kerdigan became Coroticus.

As regards St. Patrick, there is a certain parallelism between the Epistle and the Confession. The compiler of the patchwork epistle had the text of the Confession before him, and we judge that the parallelism is due to imitation on the part of a compiler and copyist. The language which he puts into the mouth of the saint is partly untrue, partly incredible, and generally out of keeping with his character. For instance, the saint is made to say—"To them it is a disgrace that we have been born in Ireland." The idea belongs to a later century, when the Sect of the Scots was "Eliminated," and the explanation offered for this untruth—viz., that he identifies himself with his converts, is not satisfactory. The saint would never have said that *he was born* in Erin. Again, "I was free born. According to the flesh, I was born to a father who was a decurio.[9] For I sold my nobility for the good of others (I do not blush for that, or regret it.) In fine, I am a servant in Christ (given over) to a foreign nation, etc., etc. . . And if my own friends do not acknowledge me, a prophet hath no honour in his own country." But his friends pressed him to stay with them, as he tells us in the Confession; and he would not describe the office of decurio, which men fled to escape from, as "nobility," nor speak of selling or bartering it. His conception of his mission was spiritual, and not contractual, and very far removed indeed from the juristic formala of *Do ut Des.*

[8] The fable is to be found conveniently in *Trip. Life*, 498.

The Brussels MS. has "vel fecule," Probus vulpecula, Stokes. *Trip. Life* (248) says ἱμμιὲτ γιππαιὲ.

[9] Decurione patre nascor. "Diaconus" is the word in the Confession instead of "Decurio." With contraction both words would be nearly alike. Whether contracted or not the word would probably be faded and partly illegible by the time of Ferdomnach. The context in the Confession shows clearly that Decurio is right.

We cannot, however, pursue this matter further, and must refer our readers to the Epistle itself. We have already said that there was probably a Letter to Coroticus, written while the saint was assistant-bishop among the Morini, and we see no reason to dissent from the judgment of the early Church in excluding the existing script from their Canon of Patrician documents.

We do not propose here to give details as to the missionary labours of our apostle. Our readers will find an exhaustive account of the legends and traditions respecting them in the recently published work of Archbishop Healy. The reliable traditions of the Church concerning them will be found in the "Selections" of Muirchu, cautiously supplemented from the Tirechan text, the Liber Angueli and the "Additamenta" (a further "selection" which we may assign to Ferdomnach.)[10] These, with the Confession and *Dicta Patricii*, constitute the *Documenta Patriciana* in the Book of Armagh. This is a small vellum quarto, now in Trinity college, Dublin, 7¾ inches in height, 5¾ in breadth, 2½ in thickness. It now contains 221 leaves. The first leaf of the Book is missing, but is supplied from a MS. that was formerly in the "Scots Cloister" in Wurzburg-on-the-Main, in Bavaria, where there is a cathedral dedicated to St. Killian, and which MS. is now in the Royal Library at Brussels. The writing is generally in double columns (rarely in three), and all appears to be in the hand of the same scribe, Ferdomnach, who invites the reader to pray for him, *Pro Ferdomnacho ores*, a request which his invaluable labour entitles him to have duteously performed by his countrymen. The Rev. Charles Graves, afterwards Bishop of Limerick, "by a most recondite and elegant demonstration," established that the writer's name was Ferdomnach, who finished the Gospel, according to St. Matthew, on the 20th of September, as a note at folio 36 testifies. Another note at folio 52 states that Ferdomnach wrote the book, "dictante" Torbach, the Co-arb of St. Patrick. Torbach died in 807, having held the See of Armagh for only one year. Ferdomnach died in 845.

The plan of our work does not allow us to enter into

[10] See Hogan, s. 2, "Ann. Boll.," Vol. ii., 213.

particulars in matters of this kind; but the service rendered by Bishop Graves, in fixing the date of the Book of Armagh, is so valuable that we must make an exception. We owe it to him to give, and we are sure our readers will receive with grateful pleasure, a brief exposition of some details. According to Gaelic usage, the name of the scribe was written in the Book of Armagh in not less than eight places—viz., at the end of the Confession, of Matthew, Mark, Luke, the Apocalypse, Acts, Life of St. Martin, and Epistles of Sulpicius Severus to Eusebius. These entries, however, except that at the end of St. Martin, had been erased and were undecipherable. The entry at the end of St. Martin's Life was, with great difficulty, ascertained to be *Pro Ferdomnacho ores.* No motive, as far as we can discover, can be assigned for these erasures, unless they were made to make it appear from the Colophon at the end of the Confession, "Thus far, the Book which Patrick wrote with his own hand," that the codex (or most of it) was written by the Saint himself, which Edward Lluydd states, was the commonly received belief in his time. Now there were two Ferdomnachs, both scribes. One died in 727, the other in 845. The latter is described by the Four Masters as a man of knowledge and a choice scribe of Ardmacha (844 A.D. Ꝑeaꞃdoṁnac eaꝫnaiḋ ⁊ ꞅcꞃibniḋ toꝫaiḋe Ꝺꞃda Maca ḋéce).

The penmanship of the Book of Armagh is of the most consummate excellence. The whole of the writing is remarkable for its distinctness and uniformity. All the letters are elegantly shaped, and many of the initials are executed with great artistic skill. The last verses of St. John's Gospel (fol. 103a) may be especially referred to, as exhibiting a specimen of penmanship which no scrivener of the present day could attempt to rival.[11]

The erasure at the end of St. Matthew (fol. 52b) enabled the learned bishop to decide that the second Ferdomnach was the scribe whose name appeared in the Book. It consisted of four short lines in a semi-Greek character, the writing in which was partly revived by the use of a weak solution of gallic acid in spirits of wine. It read as follows:—

* * * ach hunc
* * * m***e dictante
* * * ach herede Pat
ricii scripsit.

[11] Bishop Graves, Proc., Ry. Ir. Ac., iii., 324, Paper read Nov. 9th, 1846.

Dr. Graves found that the bishop referred to was Torbach, who sat for one year, according to the Catalogues of the Psalter of Cashel, given by Colgan, and the Leabhar Breac, and who died on the 16th of July, 807. He restored the text thus :—

TEXT RESTORED.	TRANSLATED.
F domnach hunc Lib	Ferdomnach this Book
E rum ***e dictante	. . . e dictating
R Torbach herede Pat	Torbach, successor of
ricii scripsit [12]	Patrick, wrote

He did not restore the *three letters* before the "E." We suggest that "ipse" was the word, and translate: "Ferdomnach this book himself, Torbach, co-arb of Patrick directing, wrote." Ferdomnach ipse scripsit is a Gaelicism we have noted elsewhere=Ꝼeaꞃdoṁnac iꞅ eꞅiꞇe do ꞅcꞃioḃ. It must be remembered that the documents copied into the Book, at least the Patrician documents, were ancient texts, partly illegible from age at the date of the Book.

The date of the Book of Armagh turns on the meaning to be attached to the word "dictante." If it means "at the dictation of" Torbach, as some will have it, the Book must have been written in the lifetime of that bishop, not later than 807. If dictante means "by the order of" Torbach, as others construe it, then the Book may have been written at any time during the life of Ferdomnach, who died in 845. We think that the true meaning of "dictante" here and in similar contexts is "planning and superintending the work," and that the first part of the Book, at any rate, in which the "Patrician Documents" are found, was written during the lifetime of Bishop Torbach, who was himself an eminent scribe.[13] About that time the co-arbs of Armagh caused a diligent search to be made for everything that could be ascertained about the saint. "Here begin," says Ferdomnach in the Additamenta, "a few things in addition to be narrated in their proper places which

[12] Co-arb (Caṁaꞃba) = Coheres, *i.e*, joint heir with Patrick. The Roman jurists had not reached the legal conception of a corporation Sole, and the Donations to the Church of Rome were always to St. Peter, the reigning Pope, and his successor, who were co-heirs with St. Peter. This may be the origin of it.

[13] *Dictare operam* significare videtur praesse operariis, iisque normam tradere, atque ordinem structionis. Ducange, *sub voce*.

have been discovered in later times by the research (curiositate) and zeal of holiness [diligentia sanctitatis] of the coarbs, which are collected, etc., to the honour and praise of the Lord, and in loving memory of Patrick, even to the present day."[14]

The importance of this statement cannot be overrated, It proves what, indeed, there is sufficient evidence to establish independently, that the documents inserted in the Book of Armagh were carefully selected after a diligent search by the early church. And, in our judgment, nothing not found in the Book of Armagh should be allowed "canonicity" in relation to his life.

The Patrician Documents were contained in the codex [folios 1-24, b. 1] in the following order:—(1) Muirchu's Selections; (2) Dicta Patricii; (3) Tirechan's Text; (4) Additamenta, *i.e.* Selections in the hand of Ferdomnach, and probably made by him; (5) The Index Hibernicus, in Ferdomnach's smallest hand, which contains notes or catchwords, which represent to some extent (Stokes says in the main) "that portion of the Tripartite Life, which is not embraced in Muirchu's memoir, and Tirechan's notes";[15] (6) Muirchu's Preface and the Table of Contents [out of place] of Part I. of his Selections; (7) The Liber Angueli; (8) The Confession.

The correspondence between the Index Hibernicus and the Tripartite, which Stokes points out, is very important. It brings such parts of the latter as are clearly referred to—very close to, if not within—the canon of tradition, which the church thought worthy of preserving after a selective process of criticism. This canon of tradition should be received with great respect, but yet not as an inspired word. It must be subjected to the tests usually applied to evidence of this class, and patiently sifted to ascertain, as far as possible, the elements of historical truth it contains.

Muirchu wrote under the superintendence and direction of Aedh, bishop of Sletty.[16] His preface indicates the nature of

[14] [Additamenta ad Collectanea Tirechani]. Incipiunt alia pauca seroitiuis temporibus inventa suisque locis narranda curiositate heredum diligentiaque sanctitatis, quæ in honorem et laudem Domini atque in amabilem Patricii memoriam usque in hodiernum diem congregantur.

"These additions seem gathered by Ferdomnach, the scribe of 'The Book of Armagh,' from other ancient Lives of St. Patrick."—*Trip. Life*, 334. Stokes.

[15] *Trip. Life*. 348.

[16] Dictante Aeduo Slebtien sis civitatis episcopo. (+698)

the work he performed. We give the text in part and a translation of it to which we invite particular attention, as much turns on its correctness. It differs altogether, as will be perceived, from that usually accepted.

Since many, my lord Aidus, have essayed to arrange a narrative and that (utique istam, a Gælicism) according to what their fathers and those who were Ministers of the Word from the beginning related to them, but owing to the great difficulty of the task of arranging a narrative and divergent opinions and very various views of very many persons, have never reached one sure tract of history.

Quoniam quidem, mi domine *Aido*, multi conati sunt ordinare narrationem utique istam secundum quod patres eorum et qui ministri initio fuerunt sermonis tradiderunt illis, sed propter difficillimum narrationis opus, diversasque opiniones et plurimorum plurimas suspiciones nunquam ad unum certumque historiæ tramitem pervenerunt.

But not to appear to make a small matter into a big affair, in obedience to the command of Your Holiness and episcopal authority, I too, shall undertake to tell, piece by piece, selectively (carptim) and with difficulty, a few of the many incidents in the life of St. Patrick which have been set forth with little skill from texts of uncertain authorship, with frail recollection and obscure meaning, but with the most dutiful affection of love.

Sed ne magnum de parvo videar fingere pauca hæc de multis Sancti Patricii gestis parva peritia incertis auctoribus, memoria labili, attrito sensu, vili sermone, sed affectu piissimo caritatis, etiam sanctitatis tuæ et auctoritatis imperio obediens carptim gravatimque explicare aggrediar.

The part in italics is thus translated by Todd:—

But lest I should seem to make a small matter great with little skill from uncertain authors with frail memory, with obliterated meaning, and barbarous language, but with a most pious intention, obeying the command of thy belovedness and sanctity and authority, I will now attempt, out of many acts of St. Patrick, to explain these gathered here and there with difficulty.

Barry translates thus:—

But lest I should seem to make much of little I shall undertake to tell briefly and gravely these few from among the many deeds of St. Patrick, with slender skill, doubtful authors, forgetful memory, obscure text and mean speech, but with most loving affection in obedience to the behest of your Holiness and authority.[17]

[17] Barry, Prologue by Muirchu, xv.

Bury has an interesting article in *Hermathena* (xxviii., 172) on the tradition of Muirchu's text. He says (p. 206), as regards the place where Palladius died. "We may, therefore, I think, conjecture with much probability that Muirchu wrote *Britonum* (*i.e.*, in finibus Britonum). This is the word in the

Certainly if all this refers to Muirchu, the Bishop of Sletty and the Irish Church were most unfortunate in their selection of an eminent scribe. We are clearly of opinion that Muirchu refers not to himself, but to other writers who had previously dealt with the subject.

The Tirechan text merits and requires very careful consideration. It is a piece of literary joinery fortunately so clumsily put together that it can be taken to pieces without much difficulty. This task has been performed by Professor Bury in a valuable article, to which we acknowledge our indebtedness, though we do not entirely concur in his views. The work has no title.[18] The opening sentence:—"Tirechan, bishop, wrote these from the lips and from the Book of Ultan, bishop, whose alumnus and disciple he was," is merely a heading by a scribe.[19] In any case it is proved to be inaccurate by the subsequent narratives. The residue of the script is divisible into two parts. The first consists of two books stated to have been put together (peractus) in the regions of Meath, Connact, and Ulster, which deal mainly with the conferring of Holy Orders, the foundation of churches, and the circumstances connected with such foundations. There is also mention of a visit to Leinster, and the last event recorded is the baptism of the sons of Natfraich in Munster on the rock of Patrick in Cashel [*et baptizavit filios Nioth Fruich*, [*i. e.*, Aengus and his brother] *i tir Mumae super petram Coithrigi hi Caissiul.*] The object of this visitation by Tirechan, of whom nothing is known, save that he was the disciple of Ultan (†656), is revealed in the following passage at the commencement of Book II., which we present to our readers, reserving

Armagh Text. The other reading is "in finibus Pictorum." He returns to Muirchu in the English *Historical Review* (903 p. xix., 493), and refers to "Misit Germanus seniorem cum illo, hoc est Segetium prespiterum ut testem comitem, haberet quia *nec adhuc* a sancto domino Germano in Pontificali gradu ordinatus est" (*Trip. Life*, 272), as implying that the Saint was subsequently consecrated by Germanus. We think the implication should be that not having been already consecrated he went to Rome for consecration.

"Etiam sanctitatis" so Stokes and Todd. Hogan omits "etiam," observing "Codex habet 'et sanctitatis,' sed particula 'et' deleta puncto supra posito."—*Ann. Boll.*, li., 546.

The punctum, perhaps, should have been the mark of a contraction. The text appears to require "etiam;" it is certainly better for it.

[18] *E. H. Rev.*, xix., 235, 700, see also Proc., Ry., Ir. Ac. xxiv., 163.

[19] Muirchu might have selected the collection ascribed to Bishop Tirechan as an illustration of the texts described in his preface. If so, he was well advised.

observations upon it till we come to consider the organisation of the early Irish church :—

All that I have written, from the beginning of this book (you know, because they were done in your parts) I heard from many elders and from Ultan, Bishop of the Dal Conchubar (a tribe of the O'Connors in Meath), who brought me all except a few facts which I discovered as the profit of my own exertion.

But my heart within me thinks of the love of Patrick, because I see that deserters and arrant graspers and soldiers of Hibernia hate the paruchia of Patrick, because they have robbed him of what was his own, since, if the successor of Patrick were to seek what belongs to his paruchia, he could restore to it almost the whole island, because God gave to him the whole island and its inhabitants through the Angel of the Lord, . . and it is not lawful for a spear [lignum ?] to be sent against him, because he is everything appertaining to the primacy of the Irish Church, and every oath that is taken is taken by him [*i.e.*, on the Canoin Padraic or the Bachall Jesu].[20]

The statement about the angel clearly refers to the story in the *Liber Angueli* that an angel appeared to Patrick to tell him that the Lord had given him the primacy, and defining the boundaries of the See of Armagh ; and it was, probably, to these muniments of title that Mael Suthain refers in the entry made by him at the foot of Fol. 16 between the Tirechan text and the *Liber Angueli*.[21]

Saint Patrick, going up to Heaven, bequeathed the fruit of his labours, the fruit of baptisms, suits, and alms to be yielded to the apostolic city, which in Gaelic is called Ard Macha. So I have found

[20] Omnia quæ scripsi a principio libri hujus (*i.e.*, Liber ii.) scitis quia in vestris regionibus gesta sunt nisi de eis pauca quæ inveni in utilitatem laboris mei a senioribbs multis ac ab illo Ultano episcopo Conchuburnensi qui nutrivit me retulit sermo. Cor autem meum cogitat in me de Patricii dilectione quia video dessertores et archiclocos et milites Hiberniæ quod odio habent paruchiam Patricii quia substraxerunt ab eo quod ipsius erat timentque quoniam si quaereret heres Patricii paruchiam illius potest pene totam insulam sibi reddere in parochiam quia Deus dedit illi totam insolam, cum hominibus per Anguelum Domini (* * *) et non lignum licet contra eum mitti quia ipsius sunt omnia primitivæ ecclesiæ Hibernicæ sed juratur a se omne quod juratur. Ann. Boll. II., 45; *Trip. Life*, 312. This text is obscure, but very important.

Archiclocos, Windisch suggests ἀρχικλῶπες the "p" being changed to "l," which found favour with Stokes, and at first with Bury. On second thoughts Bury says: "Reflection has convinced me that this assumption of the change from "p" to "l" in the case of a very rare, if not unique loan word such as this would be, cannot be maintained. The true solution is much simpler. The second "c" in the word is either redundant, or is a mistake for "l," and what Tirechan wrote was Archilocos or Archillocos; that is Archilocos, meaning malignant poets or satirists, *E. H. Rev.*, 17, 704, 257. We confess we do not find the solution simple. We suggest a composite word from "Archi," arrant, and glacaim I grasp, the "arrant graspers," euphemistic for *plunderers*, or grabbers.

[21] *Trip. Life*, 336—"It is in an eleventh century hand"

in the great book (Bibliothecis) of the Scots. I, Calvus Peennis (*i.e.*, Mael-Suthain) have written this in the presence of Brian, Emperor of the Scots, and what I have written he has fixed (finivit) for all the kings of Cashel.

Mael-Suthain was the anamchara of Brian, "Imperator Scotorum"

The residue of the text is important from another point of view and is clearly not the work of Tirechan. It concludes with a "Breviarium" or short summary of contents.

Here ends the Breviarium of the race, name, genealogy, boyhood, seizures (captivitatum), virtues, Christian ministry, writing (documentum), industry, curses of sinners, blessings of the pious, age at death. All which done in the Lord have been brought together and collected by old men of great knowledge and skill (antiquis peritissimis).

The previous text, however, does not contain any notice of St. Patrick's race (gens.), or genealogy, or two seizures. The Breviarium belonged, we think, to a work of which only part is given in our text. Professor Bury is of opinion that the Breviarium is an index to Muirchu as well as to Tirechan. We cannot accept this view. It would be an inadequate index for Muirchu and he has been already provided with an elaborate table of contents, and nobody would think of looking to the end of Tirechan to find out what was contained in Muirchu. We suggest it was an index to the "documentum" named in the text, namely the "Commemoratio laborum,"—the "Scriptio sua," and it is probable that the account of the gens., genealogy, and two seizures was omitted from the Tirechan text because it was to be found a few folios back in the text of Muirchu. What is given in the text is either an addition to Muirchu or differs from him and from the Confession. It begins as follows:—

"I have found," the writer says, "four names ascribed to Patrick in the Book with Ultan bishop of the Dal Conchubar (Ardbraccan)—1 Saint Magonius; which is bright (clarus), 2 Succetus; 3 Patricius; 4 Cothirthiacus who served four households of Magi (draoi). And one of them named Miliuc bought him and he served him seven years in service of all kinds with double (time of) labour and he placed him as a swineherd in mountain valleys.

"In the 17th year of his age he was taken captive, carried to Hibernia, and sold there. In the 22nd year of his age he was able to leave the wizard. Seven years more he walked, or sailed over seas, or lived in fields or mountain valleys, through the Gauls, and all Italy, and on the islands which are in the Tyrrhene Sea, *as he tells himself in*

the commemoration of his labours; and he was in one of the islands, called Aralanensis [Arelatensis], 30 years, as Ultan, the bishop, testified to me, and all things that happened to him you will find plainly set forth in his narrative. These are the 'mirabilia' happily performed by him in the fifth year of the reign of Laoghaire MacNeill.[22] From the passion to the death of St. Patrick are reckoned 436 years, and Laoghaire reigned for five years after the death of St. Patrick." The length of his reign was 36 years, as we think.[23]

The text further states:—

St. Patrick landed at Inis Patrick with a multitude of holy bishops and presbyters. He consecrated 450 bishops!

Near the end of the text we find:

The age of Patrick, as has been handed down to us, is reckoned as follows:—In his seventh year he was baptised; in his tenth he was captured; for seven years he was a slave; for thirty years he read; for seventy-two years he taught. The sum total of his age was 120 years, like Moses. In four things Patrick was like Moses. 1. He heard an angel from a bush. 2. He fasted forty days and forty nights. 3. He lived 120 years. 4. Where his bones are no one knew. Two hosts fought for the body for twelve days and twelve nights, and for that (space of time) they saw no night, but daylight always. On the twelfth day they came to fight (still) and each of the two hosts (by miracle) saw the body on its portable bier amongst themselves, and they did not fight. Columcille, inspired by the Holy Spirit, pointed out the sepulchre of Patrick."

[22] According to the Four Masters Laoghaire died 458 A.D., after reigning for 30 years.

[23] In XVII. ætatis suæ anno captus, ductus venditus est in Hiberniam; in XXII. anno laboris magis (read magni) relinquere potuit; VII. allis annis ambulavit et navigavit in fluctibus, in campestribus locis, et ... convallibus montanis per Gallias et Italiam totam atque in insulis quæ sunt in mari Terreno ut ipse dixit in commemoratione laborum. Erat hautem in una ex insulis quæ dicitur Aralanensis annis XXX. mihi testante Ultano episcopo. Omnia hautem quæ evenerunt (ei) invenietis in plana historia illius scripta.—*Trip. Life*, p. 302.

Aralanensis is, we think, Lerins, the island Sancti Honorati Arelatensis, *i.e.*, of Saint Honoratus, bishop of Arles. It is now called Saint Honorat.

Bury thinks the *Commemoratio Laborum* in the text means the Confession, though the writer did not, in fact, consult the Confession.

"The only written sources," he writes, "to which Tirechan refers, are a book which belonged to Bishop Ultan, and the Confession of St. Patrick. It is tolerably clear that he had before him only this book of Acta, and did not consult the Confession, though he refers to it as the saint's own *Commemoratio Laborum*. We think the *Commemoratio Laborum* was erroneously reputed to be "*scriptio sua*."

The hosts that fought, and their children, must have forgotten the saint very soon, which is incredible, and did not deserve the assistance of the Holy Spirit. St. Patrick died in 493, and Columba went to Iona in 563. A similar story is told of Columba and St. Martin of Tours. On visiting Tours, Columba was asked to point out the grave of St. Martin, which he agreed to do on condition that he should receive everything that should be found in the grave, except the bones. The Annals of Ulster state that in 554 (sixty-one years after the saint's death) our saint's relics were enshrined by Columba. Three precious reliquaries were then found in the tomb—the cup, the angel's gospel, and the Bell of the Will. There is no mention of a miracle; nor has Adamnan heard of it.

In another place the writer quotes St. Patrick's alleged statement that he gave money presents to tribal chiefs to secure a safe passage in the districts which he was in the habit of visiting. The passage referred to is not found in the Armagh text of the Confession, but appears in the Cotton and Fell MSS. of the 11th century, and in the Vedast MS., probably of the same period.

It is as follows:

> At the same time I gave presents to the Kings besides the cost of keeping their sons who walked with me, in order that they (*i.e.*, the Kings) should not seize me with my companions. . . .
>
> But you know how much I expended on those who were judges throughout all the districts which I used more frequently to visit. And I think I paid them the price of not less than fifteen men, so that you might enjoy me, and I might enjoy you in the Lord. I do not repent of it, yea, it is not enough for me. I still spend and will spend more.[24]

This extraordinary fantasy about the saint's bribing kings and judges may be compared with the prayer in the Tripartite Life when he got the staff of Jesus from the Lord, "and

[24] Patricius etiam pretium xii. animarum hominum *ut in scriptione sua* affirmat de argento et ære ut nullus malorum hominum impediret eos in via recta transeuntes totam Hibernian.—*Tirechan, Trip. Life.* 310, line 5.

Censeo enim non minus quam pretium quindecim hominum distribui illis —*Trip. Life,* 372, from Cotton MSS.

Patrick asked three favours from him—namely, (1) to be on His right hand in the Kingdom of Heaven; (2) that he might be judge of the Gael on doomsday; and (3) as much gold and silver as his nine companions could carry, to be given to the Gael for believing." Again, "He took gold to Miliuc to impress belief upon him, for he knew that Miliuc was greedy for gold."

The Apostle was not a company promoter, nor a millionaire, nor a "souper." He did not march forward as a soldier of Christ with sword, or money bag, or soup kitchen. He carried nothing with him but the Gospel and the Cross. *In hoc signo vicit.*

In the Tirechan text we read: "And they" (St. Patrick and his companions) "began to travel to Mount Egli, and Patrick paid to them the price of fifteen lives of men, as he affirms in his writing, in silver and gold, that no evil-minded person should hinder them going on the straight road across Hibernia."[25] The writing (scriptio sua) referred to here must be the *documentum*, the *Commemoratio Laborum*, and it seems not unlikely that the writer of the addition to the Armagh Confession, in other texts, found that the statement and many more equally incredible in the *Commemoratio Laborum*, which we feel confident our saint would never have written. For instance, let us take the first paragraph of the matter added to the Armagh text from the Cotton MS.

And when I was assailed by some of my seniors who opposed (my consecration) to the laborious episcopate on account of my sins I was indeed strongly impelled on that day to fall then and for ever. But the Lord spared a proselyte and a pilgrim for His name's sake. He graciously and powerfully aided me in this attempt to trample on me because I had not evilly proceeded to wickedness and shame. I pray God that the circumstance be not reckoned to them as sin, for after thirty years they found me out and urged against (me) a word which I had confessed before I was a deacon. Through pain of mind I told a most intimate friend what I had done in one day in my boyhood, nay, in one hour because I had not strength as yet. I know not, God knows, if I was then fifteen years old. For I did not believe in one God, not from my infancy, but I remained in doubt and unbelief until I was severely chastened.

[25] See preceding note.

The writer of this had a nucleus for the romance in the statement at the opening of the Confession that the saint did not know God truly then (verum Deum). This the writer, not understanding its true import, changes to "one" ("verum" to "unum") God, and makes our Saint out an unbeliever and a pagan. The terrible sin is not mentioned. Zimmer, however, has found it out. "Young Sucat," he says "gave himself up to worldly pleasures, and himself owns to having sinned against the sixth commandment (*i.e.*, committed adultery) when in his fifteenth year."[26] When will those additions and mendacities come to an end?

Surely it is high time that the men of Erin at least should take their stand on what is written in the Book of Armagh under the authority of the Co-arbs of the Apostle in the primacy of the fatherland.[27]

Another crime laid to the charge of our Saint furnishes a good example of how a harmless legend becomes metamorphosed. We refer to the theft of the relics.

In the *Trip. Life* itself there are evidently two stories mixed up. In the first, the angel appears to the saint and tells how the relics are to be divided TO-DAY (indiu) in Rome for the four quarters of the world, and says, "I will carry you, &c. . . . . And the angel carried Patrick into the air." This was clearly for the purpose of taking him off to Rome in time for the distribution, and we expect to find him present on *that day* in Rome and getting his share. Not so, however, runs the text. He goes to Waterford, thence by ship to

[26] Zimmer, *Celtic Church*, 43.

[27] The collections in the Book of Armagh, written in the seventh century, must be taken as authorities in preference to all of later date, which are evidently but systematized amplifications of them. Yet it will be seen that even in these documents the statements are so vague and contradictory that nothing very conclusive can be gleaned from them. The first in a ruder style is the same in substance as that by Probus.—Petrie, Tara, 83.

Facile constat inter eruditos post Confessionem Patricii, utrumque monumentum Libri Armachani antiquissimum esse omnium quæ de sancti apostoli historia ad nos peruenerit. Immo non dubitat Petrie omnes vitas Patricii quas edidit Colganus ex hoc solo fonte prodesse. Quod omnino certum est de vita quæ Probi nomine inscribitur; hæc enim ita insistit vestigiis Muirchu Maccumustheni (nisi quod de missione Romana Patricii quædam hausit de Tirechano) ut manifesta habenda sit illius magis latior et elegantior recensio.—Hogan, S.J., *Ann. Boll*, I. 243.

Bordeaux, thence to Rome, "and sleep," the text proceeds, "came over the inhabitans of Rome, so that Patrick brought away as much as he wanted, *i.e.*, 365 relics, together with the relics of Paul, Peter, Laurence, Stephen, and many others. Patrick left that collection at Armagh."

In Colgan it appears amplified again—*vires acquisivit eundo.*

By a pious stratagem or theft, whilst the custodians of the sacred places were asleep and knowing nothing, but, as is believed, with the connivance of the Pope, he, Patrick, took a multitude of relics and carried them away to Hibernia.[28]

There is no reference, we need hardly say, to these felonious proceedings in the Book of Armagh. The writer came to the conclusion that though there was flat robbery there was no sacrilege, and waxes into enthusiasm over this obscure and puzzling discovery.

"Oh, wonderous deed," he exclaims, "seldom equalled—the theft of a vast treasure of holy things carried off from the most holy place in the world without committing sacrilege." !![29]

Many more illustrations of this falsification of traditions might be adduced. We shall only give two. The *Tripartite Life* (p. 194) states, referring to the saint's visit to Cashel:—"When Oengus, the son of Natfraich, arose in the morning all the images were 'innaligib'—*batur imarachta huili innaligib*—and Patrick and his people found him beside the fort." The *Life* continues:—"He (Oengus) gives them welcome and brings them into the fort." Now "innaligib" means literally "in their beds or in their graves," and probably was meant to convey that they had been put away by Oengus. They were probably representations of the sun and the moon, etc., as we have already explained, and if there was anything miraculous to relate about them the writer of the *Tripartite* would undoubtedly not have omitted it. He was, however, satisfied

[28] Pio astu furtove sacrorum locorum custodibus nescientibus et dormientibus et summo ut creditur connivente Pontifice, accepit ingentem sacrarum reliquiarum multitudinem quas secum in Hiberniam, asportavit.—*Acta SS.*, vol. II., p. 264.

[29] O mirum facinus rarumque, ingentis thesauri ex loco mundi sacratissimo rapti sacrarumque rerum furtum sine sacrilegio commissum.—Colgan, *Acta, SS.*, II., 164.

with the bare statement of fact. Not so, however, Jocelyn. He was a French Cistercian monk from Furness, in Lancashire, and came to Erin as a friend and supporter of the Angevins, and in particular of De Courcy, "the plunderer of churches and territories" (ꝑm). He wrote his "Life"—the Vita Quinta of Colgan—between 1183 and 1186.

"Many fools (he writes, in his preface) have written the life of St. Patrick with a pious intent but in an unhandsome style, by which disgust is often excited and sometimes tardiness of belief. I will season the life of the saint, if not with all the excellence of our tongue, at least with some of its elegance."

He tells us that the saint journeyed into Munster—

And the king thereof, Oengus, met the holy prelate rejoicing and giving thanks in the exultation of his heart, as on that day occasion was minstered to him of joy and of belief for that in the morning when he entered the temple to adore his idols he beheld them all prostrate on the ground. And so often as he raised them, so often by the Divine power, were they cast down, nor could they stand upright, but continually were overthrown. And as Dagon could not stand at the approach of the Ark of the Testament, so neither could the idols stand the approach of St. Patrick.[30]

His account of the saint's mother is novel and interesting, Muirchu knew nothing of it:—

Calphurnius married a French damsel named Concessa, a niece of the Blessed Martin, Archbishop of Tours, and the damsel was elegant in her form and in her manners; for, having been brought from France with her elder sister into the northern parts of Britain and there sold at the command of her father, Calphurnius, being pleased with her manners, charmed with her attentions, and attracted by her beauty, very much loved her, and from the state of a serving maid in his household raised her to be his companion in wedlock.

Our concluding illustration shall be Jocelyn's masterpiece, "The Miracle of the Love-sick Nun." The lady was Ercnat, Daire's daughter. Muirchu tells us:—

There was a rich man of rank in the Eastern part (of Oirghialla). named Daire, and Patrick asked him for a site for religious worship. "What place do you want?" asked Daire. "That height called Willow Hill (Druim Sailech)," said the saint. Daire refused to give that site then, but after some incidents not necessary to be mentioned here he gave it, and St. Patrick and Daire went to consider the miracle

[30] Vita, c. 74, Swifte.

of the offering and to view the well-pleasing donation, and they ascended the height, and they found in the place a doe with its little fawn lying where the altar of the church at the left now is at Ard Macha. And the companions of Patrick wished to take and kill the fawn, but the saint would not permit it. Nay, he took up the fawn himself and carried it on his shoulders, and the doe followed him like a pet sheep until he lay down the fawn in another field at the North side of Ard Macha, where, as knowledgeable men say, there are marks remaining to this day of his pious act (signa virtutis ejus).[31]

Muirchu knows nothing or says nothing, about the following addition to this charming little episode, which is found in the *Tripartite Life* (233):—

Daire's daughter loved Benen. Sweet to her seemed his voice at the chanting. An illness came upon her, and thereof she died. Benen took creta (cretra=consecrata ?) to her from Patrick, and straightway that holy virgin rose up alive, and afterwards she loved him, spiritually. She is Ercnat, Daire's daughter, who is (buried) in Tamlacta Bo.[32]

Jocelyn presents the story "with the excellence and the elegance of the tongue," but we doubt if these qualities of style have entirely removed our "tardiness of belief."

"The venerable Benignus," he writes, "excelled in the song of a sweet voice, so that he penetrated the hearts and ears of all who heard him. So out of the melody of his voice did the tempter minster the occasion of sin. For a nun, whilst she was delighted with the sweet singing of Benignus, entertained, at length, a more earnest desire towards the man of God, who knew nothing of this unhallowed flame which hardly could she contain in her bosom. Taught by a woman's cunning, she feigned extreme illness, and withdrew as into her sick bed, and besought that from Benignus she might receive spiritual counsel and the Holy Communion. But St. Patrick, at the revelation of the Spirit, was not ignorant of what distemper did the nun labour under. He sent Benignus. Wonderful was the event. The damsel, raising her eyes at his entrance, beheld Benignus very terrible in his stature, and his face as breathing forth flames, and she beheld herself blazing within and without, and St. Patrick standing nigh, covering his face with his hands.[33]

Great saints are not exempt from some of the perils that attend other forms of greatness. The biographer lies in wait for them.

[31] Muirchu, c. 24, *Trip. Life*, 290.

[32] In the Martyrology of Donegal it is stated that Benignus, afterwards St. Patrick's co-arb in Armagh, "was then a psalm singer with his master Patrick," and that after recovering Ercnat offered her virginity to God, so that she went to heaven. The "creta" was probably "uisce consecrata," holy water.—*Martyr Doneg.* 30.

[33] Jocelyn, c. 97, *abridged.*

CHAPTER XII.

THE RELIGION OF THE GAEL BEFORE SAINT PATRICK.

THE religion of the Gael before the advent of Christianity can, in its general outlines, be ascertained with a reasonable degree of certainty. The evolution of their religious conceptions followed a normal course, and by comparing what we know of them with our knowledge of other branches of the Aryan family, we can fix, with precision, the stage at which it had arrived. The religion of the Celestial Fire, or light, predominated; the sun and the moon were the principal objects of worship. But beside and below this cultus were survivals from the animistic period; sometimes referred to as polydemonism. This consisted in a belief in the existence of spirits, or demons, animating, or watching over everything, and that everything could be controlled or influenced by verbal formulas, incantations, or magical practices known only to the wizards. These wizards became fortune-tellers, obtaining information from the demons they controlled; and, being observers of the heavens, and having power over the elements—wind, rain, and mist—they became in due course astrologers. It was the superstitions connected with polydemonism that the Church found everywhere the most difficult to eradicate. The Church admitted the existence of evil spirits, their intelligence, activity, and implacable hatred of mankind. Speaking of the cultus of stones, in the valley of Lebroust, in the centre of the Pyrenees, a writer, quoted by Bertrand, stated, in 1877 :—

> These enchanted (sacrées) stones are most frequently found near springs, and are boulders or blocks of unhewn granite . . . In vain do the priests fight against them in the pulpit. They have not succeeded in extirpating them from all hearts. In vain do they get these vestiges of persistent paganism secretly destroyed, particularly those near which young men and girls keep tryst. When the inhabitants catch the destroyers at work, they assemble, and prevent them. If the work has been accomplished unknown to them, they gather up the broken pieces and replace them, and continue the cultus. It is

necessary to remove the pieces to a distance, and scatter them. Sometimes a cross is placed on the spot to appropriate to religion the respect in which it was held.[1]

Was the Lia Fail sent away for this reason? We shall see. The Gael were approaching polytheism, or, possibly, even monotheism, but had not reached either. There were no temples or man-shaped idols among them such as are found in abundance everywhere else in Europe. None have been found above ground or underground at Usnach, Tara, Tlachtga, Tailltin, Cruachan, or elsewhere in Erin, except at Magh Slecht.

St. Patrick tells us in the Confession, as we have seen, that the Irish had no knowledge of God, but worshipped idols and unclean things (idula et immunda). What were these idula? Were they man-shaped? We submit they were not. There are two entries in Cormac's glossary which throw much light on this point. We quote them here in full:

Idol, *i.e.*, ab idolo, ειδος in the Greek, forma in the Latin, unde dicitur idolum, that is the forms and representations of the idols or the *elements* (*nandula*)[2] which the heathen used to make formerly.

Indelba, *i.e.*, the names of the altars of these idols, because they were wont to make (*dofornetes*)[3] on them the figures (delba) of everything (or of the elements)[4] they adored, verbi gratia figura solis (figure of the sun).

This is further illustrated by the following story told by Keating:—

There was a priest in Tir Conell in the time of Colum Cille who built or erected a church of splendid stone and erected an altar with glass in it, and put shapes of the sun and moon in it, in that church;[5] and shortly after that came a weakness and a swoon upon that priest, and a demon came to him after that and took him with him in the air, and after a while they came near Colum Cille, overhead him. He caught sight (of them) and stretched out the sign of the holy cross overhead in the air. So with that the priest fell down from above. And accordingly the priest dedicated the church to Colum Cille for his help from the hands of the demon, and became a monk himself and spent a good life from that out.[6]

[1] Bertrand, *La Religion des Gaulois*, p. 46.
[2] *Nandula*—creatures. Stokes.
[3] *Dofornetes*—carve. Stokes.
[4] Cormac's glossary. Stokes 94, 95, compiled 890, A.D. (c).
[5] Delba in uilè no adratis (no nandula odortaes).
The uile not translated by Stokes is important, as it would include the sun and moon which, however, the Gael would then classify as "dula."
[6] Stokes gives text and translation, *Rev. Celt.*, xx., 428.

Do ḋi Sagart ar Tir Conell an aimsir Coluim Cille do ċimdaiġ no do ṫogaiḋ eagles do clocaiḋ uairle ⁊ do ṫogaiḋ altoir ġloine inte, ⁊ do ċuir dealb 'ġreine ⁊ earca do dealb san eagles sin ⁊ go ġrod da eis sin

Keating found the story doubtless in the Egerton MS. or some copy of it, which states:

There was a wealthy priest who adorned his church with precious stones, *i.e.*, a church that was in his cell (a church in which his cell was?), and made an altar of crystal and wrought (thereon) the shape of the sun and the moon.[7]

O'Mahony[8] understood Keating to refer to a heathen priest but he could not have called a heathen priest a ꝑaȝaꞃc. We deemed it right, therefore, to give the Gaelic text, not hitherto printed, in full. It seems that the good priest had more zeal than discretion. The altar was not, of course, of crystal. It was probably of wood with panes of glass in it shaped like the sun and moon and lighted from behind. There were then no heathen priests nor heathen temples in Erin.

The heathen practices connected with polydemonism were condemned by several councils—by St. Augustine in Africa; by St. Cæsarius of Arles, in the south of France; and by St. Eligius in the North. St. Eloi (Eligius, 588-659) was born near Limoges, in the "suburbium"[9] of which, as his deed of grant states, he founded and endowed with lands the great Abbey of Solignac, which is eight miles south of the city. The charter or deed of grant from him to the abbot Remadus expressly states that it is given on condition "that you and your successors follow the way of religion of the most holy men of the monastery of Luxeuil, and firmly keep the rule of PP. Benedict and Columbanus.[10] 'Thus side by side in the same religious house we find the rule of St. Colum was observed with that of St. Benedict, until the greater practical sense of the latter code superseded the more rigid legislation of the former. Whilst not in any way lax, the Benedictine rule did not prescribe an

caiꝛ anbꝛaiṅ ⁊ niol aiꝛ an ꝑaȝaꞃc ꝑin ⁊ caiṁiȝ oeaman cuiȝe iaꝛ ꝑin oo ꝛuȝ leiꞃ ꝑan aieoꝛ e, ⁊ an ꞇꝛiaꞇ canȝaooꝛ anȝaꝛ oo Colum Cille oꝛ a cion, ꝛuaꝛ aṁaꝛc ⁊ oo ꝑine coṁaiꝛóa na cꝛoiċe naeoṁca oꝛ a cion ꝑan aieoiꝛ ȝuꝛ ċuiꞃ an ꝑaȝaꞃc leiꝛꝛiꝛ ec oo ḃiem oo iobaiꝛ an ꝑaȝaꞃc an eaȝleꝛ oo Colum Cille ꞇꝛe na ꝛoiꝛiꞇiꝛ a laṁaiḃ an oeamuiṅ ⁊ oo ċuaiꝺ ꝑéin an oꝛo manac ȝuꝛ ċaiċ a aimꝛeꝛ ȝo maiꞃ o ꝑin amaċ.—MS. Vellum, by Dermot O'Connor, written in 1730, *Brit. Mus.* add. 18, 745, p. 144.

[7] Doꝛꝛȝne aiꞇoiꝛ ȝluiniꝺe ⁊ doꝛꝛȝne oelḃ ȝnéne ⁊ eꝛco.

[8] O'Mahony, p. 463.

[9] So the Vicus Bonavem was in the suburbium of Taruanna.

[10] Et tamen conditione interposita ut vos et successores vestri tramitem religionis sanctissimorum virorum Luxoviensis monasterii consequamini et regulam beatissimorum PP. Benedicti et Columbani firmiter teneatis. Migne, vol. 87-col. 659.

asceticism which could be practised only by the few, and the most ample powers were given to the superior to adapt the regulations to all circumstances of times and places. The Columban rule, on the other hand, was one of great rigour, and would, if carried out in its entirety, have made the Celtic monks almost, if not quite, the most austere of men." [11]

The Monastery of St. Eloi was remarkable for having a number of artistic handicraftsmen, skilful particularly in goldsmiths' work, in which St. Eloi himself excelled, and Limoges became celebrated in the Middle Ages for ecclesiastical gold work. We incline to believe that the foundation was largely recruited from the countrymen of Columbanus.

The heathenish practices to which we have referred are nowhere more exhaustively enumerated than in a sermon by St. Eloi, which is preserved in his Life by his contemporary and biographer, St. Ouen, Bishop of Rouen (A.D. 640). We shall give here, in abridged form, such parts as are applicable to polydemonism in Erin, and which show forth briefly and authoritatively what this cult of polydemonism was in practice. Eligius became Bishop of Noyon in A.D. 640. It was then one of the most important cathedral cities in France. Charlemagne was crowned there in A.D. 768 :—

Above all, I warn and adjure you (the Bishop said). Let no man observe the sacrilegious practices of the pagans or dare to consult persons who make charms, or practise fortune-telling, or sorcery, or magic on account of sickness, or for any other reason. Observe not auguries, or sneezing, nor, when on a journey, attend to the singing of birds. Let no Christian take note of the day on which he leaves home, nor the day on which he returns, nor of the day of the month, nor of the moon, before commencing any work.

Let no one on the Feast of St. John take part in the "Solstitia," or jumping, or dancing, or carolling, or devilish songs, or call on the name of Neptune, Diana, Orcus, Minerva, *or the Genii*, or believe in nonsense of that sort. Let no Christian light *luminaria* (fires or "cleares"), and make vows or prayers at shrines, or stones, or springs, or trees, or "cellas" (spots struck by lightning, collicellas ?), or cross roads. Let no one *tie charms* around the neck of man or beast. Let no one make sprinklings, or incantations on herbs, or dare to make the

[11] Abbot Gasquet, *English Monastic Life*, p. 214 and 11, citing *Round Celtic Church of Wales*, p. 166. St. Eloi wanted his monks to be "the most austere of men."

By the Canons of the Council of Aix-la-Chapelle (which was held in 817, under Louis le Debonaire *in domo Aquisgrani palatii quæ ab Lateranis dicitur*, at the instance of St. Benedict of Aniane, near Montpellier, one of the reformers of the Benedictines, it was ordained, that all the monks in the empire should follow the reformed Benedictine rule and liturgy. This order was enforced by the secular arm.—Hefele (Tr. Delarc), V. 218.

cattle pass through the hollow of a tree or through a hole in the earth, because by this he openly consecrates them to the devil.

Let no woman hang amber from her neck.

Let no one shout at an eclipse of the moon.

Let no one call the sun and the moon lords (dominos), *nor swear by them.*[12]

The Abbé Arbellot, in his interesting Life of St. Eloi (1898), tells us that the custom relating to cattle, above mentioned, still exists in some parts of Limousin.[13]

The oldest form of the Gaelic oath we are acquainted with consisted in giving and taking as sureties or securities the elements. Ferdiad tells Meve, in the *Tain*, that he will not fight Cuchulain without this oath :—

I will not go without securities
* * * * *
Without the sun and moon
Together with the sea and land.
ni ragra gan páta
* * * *
gan gréin ocar érci
la muir ocar tir.

This was the substance of the solemn Gaelic oath till Christianity took root. It was the oath taken by Laoghaire not long before his death, "He gave the securities of the sun and of the wind, and of the elements to the men of Leinster." He broke this pledge, and next year (458 A.D.), "the sun and the wind killed him because he had outraged them" (ár rorár-aig iad),

The violation of a guarantee or security, whether in the case of a god-element or of a man, was a heinous outrage in the estimation of the Gael. We have seen the effects in the case of Fergus MacRoigh. A case is recorded where a son killed his own father for the violation of an oath in which the son was given as security. It will be observed that there is no mention in the formula quoted of any god of the sun or the moon or the earth, where we should expect to find them if they were objects of worship. The Church was, of course, opposed to this oath, and a transition formula appears to have been adopted. The words sun, moon, sea, and land, given as securities were excluded, and the substituted formula ran:—"I swear by the oath of my people" (long a toing mo tuat)

[12] Migne, vol. 87, col. 528.
[13] *Vie de St. Eloi*, p. 35.

M. d'Arbois has given a very interesting comparison of the "Celtic" with the Homeric oath, the latter of which names gods and elements together.[14] There was, also, the soldiers' oath. He swore by his arms, his comrades in battle. He looked for help to the power within the bronze or the iron. The Homeric ἀντὸς ἐφέλκεται ἄνδρα σίδηρος—the iron itself draws the man on to it—was, probably, used originally in this sense. This form of oath was also customary with the Germans, as Grimm tells us.[15]

Spenser says:—

> So do the Irish at this day when they go to battle say certain prayers or charms to their swords, making a cross therewith upon the earth, and thrusting the points of the blades into the ground, thinking thereby to have the better success in fight. Also, they used commonly to swear by their swords.

Cæsarius (476-544), "Dragged from the monastery of Lerins, to be Archbishop of Arles," warns his flock to cut down and destroy any trees or altars or such like things on their lands to which the people resorted for vows. He states that when a sacred tree fell the people would not use any part of it for fuel.[16]

O'Donovan tells us in his Supplement to O'Reilly (1864):—

> There is an ancient tree growing in Borrisokane, Tipperary, 22 feet in diameter. It is held in peculiar veneration by the peasantry, who would not cut off any part of it for fuel, because they believe that the house in which any part of it should be burnt would soon meet the same fate.[17]

The cultus of trees, stones, wells, etc., need not detain us. There is one particular cult, however, which deserves notice—that is, the custom, which continues to our time, of *making rounds* at holy wells. How did this originate, and why? An explanation occurs to us, which we deem it right to offer for consideration. It was, we surmise, the adaptation of a primitive well-cult to the ritual of sun-worship. The votary faced the east, and turned to the right hand, "desiul" with the course of the sun. The two cults were thus combined after the sun had become the paramount object of worship. The Church

[14] *Rev. Archéologique*, Aug. 1892, p. 22.
[15] *Deutsches Alterthum*, 896.
[16] Migne. vol. 33, col. 2207.
[17] O. D. Suppl. *Bile.*

was not able to extirpate these practices completely. but succeeded to a large extent in modifying them, and in associating them, when purged of paganism, with Christian beliefs. "The Church," writes Bossuet, "resigned herself to taking part in them (St. John's Fires), in order to banish heathenism (superstitions) from them."[18]

In connection with the cult of the Celestial Fire, there was no function more important than its reproduction annually in perfect purity. Fire may have been originally discovered by observing it produced by one branch of a tree rubbing against another, or by the rubbing of stalks of corn against each other in a gentle wind, as sometimes happens now in the West Indies. The Greeks believed that Prometheus stole it in a reed from heaven.

The primitive way of producing fire was by rubbing two sticks one against the other, in the form either of the fire drill or of the stick and groove. The fire thus produced is called in Gaelic *tene eigin*, or, "forced fire." There is no reference to the mode of producing this fire, nor is it, so far as we are aware, even named in our texts. The magical production of fire is mentioned, and one wizard was called Lugaid Delbaith —the fire-producer—who built a large fire-pile which he ignited by Druidic power.[19]

In Cormac's glossary we find the following :—

> Belltaine, Mayday, *i.e.*, bil-tâne—fire for luck, lucky fire, which Druids used to make with great incantations, and they used to bring the cattle (as a safeguard) against the diseases of each year to those fires. (In the margin is added) they used to drive the cattle between these fires.[20]

The Gaelic words ꝺo ꝫnıtıꝛ na ꝺꝛaıꝺe con cencetlaıꝺ moꝛaıꝺ imply, we think, that the wizards not merely ignited, but made the fire. Aꝺnaꝺ was the kindling of the fire.

Carmichael, in the *Carmina Gadelica* (1901) gives a most interesting account of how this "neid" fire was produced in the Hebrides (Innıꝛ Cat), and the attendant ceremonies. In North Uist the neid fire was produced by rapidly boring with an auger, *i.e.*, the fire-drill. This was accomplished by the exertions of the "naoi naomear cind ginealach Mac"—the nine

[18] *Catechisme de Meaux*, p. 267.
[19] O'Curry MS. II., 220.
[20] *Cormac's Gloss.* 19. Stokes.

nines of first-begotten sons. Sail Dairach (oak log) obtained its name from the log of oak for the neid fire being there. A fragment riddled with auger holes still remains. Mr. Alexander Mackay, of Reay, Sutherland, says :—

> My father was the skipper of a fishing crew. Before beginning operations for the season the crews met at night at our house . . . After settling accounts they put out the fire on the hearth. They then rubbed two pieces of wood one against the other so rapidly as to produce fire, the men joining in one after the other, and working with the utmost energy, never allowing the friction to relax. From this friction-fire they then re-kindled the fire on the hearth, from which all the men present carried away a kindling to their own houses.

The neid fire was resorted to in imminent or actual calamity, upon the first day of the quarter, and to ensure success in great or important events. A woman in Arran said her father and the other men of the townland used to make the neid fire on the knoll on the "La buidhe Bealtain" —"Yellow day of Beltane." The fire of purification was kindled from the neid fire, while the domestic fire was re-kindled from the fire of purification. This was divided into two fires, between which the people and cattle rushed australly for purposes of purification. The neid fire was made down to a comparatively recent period; in North Uist about the year 1829; in Arran, about 1820; in Reay, about 1830.[21]

The production of the neid fire in Erin would not have been prevented by the dampness of the climate. It was practised in Tyrone at the commencement of the last century, probably by some of the Scotch, who settled in that county after the confiscations in Ulster. This appears from the following narrative which we have condensed from the *Journal of the Kilkenny Archæological Society*:—

> Bernard Bannon of Cavancarragh, near Enniskillen, states that when "Big Head" appeared amongst the cattle the men of the townland assembled on the farm to make "neid fire," and covered it with "scraws," and used the smoke as a cure by forcing the cattle, with open mouths, to hold their heads over it. Having got two pieces of dry wood two men commenced to rub them violently together till friction produced fire. He heard his father say he himself had helped to kindle a neid fire and that it was very hard work; each pair of men rubbed in turn. Before the neid fire was made every fire in the townland was extinguished. After the cure every extinguished fire got a burning coal from the neid fire to rekindle it. He remembered when at school,

[21] Carmichael A., *Carmina Gadelica*, vol. II., p. 340 (condensed).

being then about 7 years old, the scholars telling that the men in the townland of Ratoran were all engaged at kindling a neid fire. Some of the little boys said they got no school bread that day, as all the fires had been put out. The school was at Pubble, near Ratoran, in Tyrone.[22]

Keating tells us that "the festival of the fire of Tlachtga was held on the eve of Samhain (Hallow E'en)," and it was made obligatory, under pain of punishment, to extinguish all the fires of Erin on that eve, and the men of Erin were allowed to kindle no other fire but that one, and all the other fires were to be lighted from it. Keating further says that the meeting was held "to make a sacrifice to all the gods which was burnt in that fire." Cormac says nothing of any such sacrifice. The wizards, no doubt, as part of their incantations, threw charms, etc., into the fire, but there were no sacrifices of animals or offerings of milk or bread or fruits, and there were no gods then worshipped but the elements.

Keating further says it was their usage also to light two fires to Bel in every district in Erin at this season, and to drive a pair of each kind of cattle that the district contained between those two fires, as a preservative to guard them against all the diseases of the year. "It is from that fire, made in honour of Bel, that the 1st of May is called Biltaini or Bealtaine; for Beltainni is the same as Beil-teine, *i.e.*, teine Bheil or Bel's fire." Bel is certainly the same as "bil," the good, new, and pure fire.

There is no such celebration now on the 1st of May, but on St. John's Eve (22nd of June), it is still the custom to light fires and to go about amongst the cattle and strike them, especially the cows and bulls, with lighted sheaves of wheaten straw called "clears" (luminaria) to make them vigorous and prolific.

It is generally supposed that the Church caused the fires of Belteinne in Erin to be transferred from the 1st of May to the eve of Midsummer, St. John's day, or June 23rd. We are inclined to think that a ceremony of the kind was from old time attached to the Summer Solstice.[23] This by no means

[22] *Kilkenny Archæol. Soc.*, 4th series vol. 6, p. 64.

[23] The bulls were of old, as now, admitted to the herds at, or shortly before, the Summer Solstice, with the view of having the calves born in the following April when the grass is becoming plentiful.

precludes us from assuming that there was a somewhat similar function on the 1st of May. An old pastoral celebration of an analogous kind was held on the foundation day of Rome, the 21st April, called the Palilia or Parilia. This was an external manifestation of the old fire-cult. Fire was the principal god of the Aryans—the religion of the heavenly light which developed into Sun-worship.

Ovid tells us how, when a boy, he jumped over the three fires at this feast and gives the prayer which was to be repeated four times by the shepherd while turning towards the rising sun, and asking pardon for his innocent sins. "If I have pastured my sheep on holy ground, or sat beneath a holy tree, or if a sheep of mine has nibbled the grass from graves, or if I have entered a forbidden grove I ask pardon." He then prayed for the health of himself and his flock:—

> Valeant hominesque gregesque,
> Sitque salix aries, conceptaque semina conjux
> Reddat; et in stabulo multa sit agna meo.

The poet adds, "then across the blazing heaps of crackling stalks throw with agile foot thy active frame." [24]

The primitive house in which the fire was kept was probably a round hut made of wattled osiers daubed with mud. The round form appears to have been preserved in the Greek Prytaneum, and the Aedes Vestæ in Rome. Fire was considered the purest of the Elements and Vesta the purest of the gods.[25]

In Pagan Rome "new fire" was kindled at the commencement of the Pagan year.[26] Ovid tells us:—

> Adde quod arcana fieri novus ignis in aede
> Dicitur et vires flamma refecta capit.

And that "new fire" is said to be made in the inmost shrine and the flame re-made is strengthened.[27]

The primitive way of producing this "new fire" was by the

[24] Vesta, from whose altar the *suffimen* of purification for the Feast was taken, had no idol image. She was the Sacred fire itself of the hearth (ἑστία), which was also an altar.

[25] Τῳ δε ἀγνοτάτῳ τῶν θεῶν το καθάρτατον τῶν θνητῶν φιλον.—Dio Halicar.

[26] This was at the commencement of the old year, he thinks:—
Nec mihi parva fides annos hinc esse priores.—*Fast.* III., 137, 145, 152.

[27] G. F. Frazer, Jour. Phil., XIV., 145.—Plutarch Numa.

fire drill or stick and groove. Festus tells us that when the fire of Vesta went out the use was to drill a piece of "lucky wood" until the fire was produced, which was then carried into the shrine by a vestal in a brazen sieve.[28] The drilling evidently took place outside in the full blaze of the sunshine; the fire was from the sun.

In the time of Plutarch another mode was sometimes or perhaps usually adopted. "A new fire," he says, "must be made (when the fire of Vesta went out) lighted from a pure and undefiled ray from the sun, not from another fire. They usually lighted it with basins, which they prepare hollowed with the isosceles sides of a right-angled triangle, which bends the rays to one point." The rays of light may be concentrated either by refraction or reflection. In the former case they must fall through a transparent refracting substance, as glass formed into a proper shape; in the latter they fall on a concave polished substance of silvered glass or bright metal.[29] Plutarch refers to the latter mode. For the former mode a convex lens of crystal and the *speculum ustorium* and other means were used.

After the reception of the Faith, pure elemental fire was thought to possess a special sanctity. And it was not thought amiss to appropriate the religious feelings connected with it, when purified from superstition, to the uses of Christianity.

On some day in holy week—the usage varied—the lamps in the churches were in many places extinguished and the Paschal candlestick was lighted from the "new fire." From this source the other lights in the church were kindled, and the various households in the parish took a flame to relight their fires and lamps which had been carefully extinguished beforehand.[30]

The famous fire of St. Bridget at Kildare is probably an adaption to Christian uses of an old usage connected with the prechristian Cult. There were two claen fertas (sloping enclosures?)[31] at Tara, west of Rath Grainne, which lies

[28] Morem fuisse si quando ignis Vestæ extinctus esset tabulam felicis materiæ tam diu terebrare quousque exceptum ignem crebro æneo virgo in ædem ferret.

[29] Numa, C. IX.

[30] Marlene, H., *Antiq.* (IV., 23), gives full and interesting details.

[31] Claen ferta a ngaeltir airone.
Claen ferta na Claen-Cainghe.

on the summit of the western face of the hill and on its abrupt slope. One of these fertas was in aftertime generally referred to as the place where the maidens were slain, the other as the place where the erroneous judgment of Lugaid Mac Con about the measure of damages for the trespass of sheep was delivered. "In the documenta Patriciana," Father Hogan, S.J., says:—"We have the *nom. fem. sing.* Fertæ, *gen.* Fertæ, *dat.* Ferti, *acc. sing.* Ferti. We get its form from the words fossam rotundam in similitudinom fertæ (p. 73); and its gender from ad Ferte quam foderunt viri (p. 327).[32] The old word is not found in Windisch Zeuss or Stokes's "Glossarial Index to the Feilire." Its meaning may be probably followed thus: (1) a trench or dike with a bank or ditch on the edge of it, on which a hedge might be planted, like an ordinary farm fence; (2) an enclosed area; (3) when there was a burial mound within it, a tomb; (4) a Fearta Martar, where the bones of Saints were laid; (5) A miracle. The Ferta is thus described in the *Trip. Life* (237):—"It is thus Patrick measured the Ferta, namely, seven score feet in the inclosure (is indles), and seven and twenty feet in the great house (is intig mor) and seventeen feet, in the kitchen, and seven feet in the oratory, and in that wise it was he used to found the church buildings (*na Congabala*) always."

The diameter of the Ferta alone is given, from which Stokes rightly infers that the Ferta was circular. It seems probable, we think, that Clonfert, Ardfert, etc., were named from *Congabala* of this kind, made like the Ferta of the Saint.

So in describing the tomb of Laoghaire's daughters, near the Well of Clebach, it is stated, "They made a round trench (fossam) in likeness to a Ferta, for the Gael and the heathens used to do so. But by us it is called, *relic, i.e., reliquiæ* and *feart.* And the (Ferta) was consecrated to God and Patrick, with the bones of Saints, and to his successors, for ever. And he made a church of earth in that place (et ecclesiam terrenam fecit in loco)."[33]

This means, probably as we understand it, that he made within the Ferta a little seven-foot oratory, as above mentioned.

[32] *Ir. Eccl. Rev. Liber Angueli*, vol. vii., 3rd series (1886), 852.
In the *Urkeltischer Sprachschatz* (Fick), vol. ii., 271, Fert is referred to the root, ver., verto, meaning to enclose or cover.
[33] Doc. Patrie, 73, *Trip. Life*, 317.
See also Reeves' *Churches of Armagh*, 49.

It is, perhaps, permissible to suggest that St. Bridget's fire was kept in a Ferta of this kind, and that the Ferta on the slope of Tara, where the maidens were slain, was used in connection with the cultus of fire.[34]

"The fire," says Giraldus, "is surrounded by a hedge of thorn, or some kind of brushwood (virgeo quodam saepe), forming a circle within which no male can enter; and if any one should presume to enter, which has been sometimes attempted by rash men, he will not escape the divine vengeance. Moreover, it is lawful for women in blowing the fire to use only a bellows or a fan, but not their mouths. In the time of St. Brigid there were twenty nuns, she herself being one. After her death nineteen have always formed the community, the number having never been increased. Each of them has the care of the fire for a single night in turn, and on the evening before the twentieth night, the last nun, having heaped wood upon the fire, says:—'Brigid, mind your fire. This is your night,' and so she leaves the fire, and in the morning the usual quantity of wood having been consumed, the fire is found still burning."[35] It was an ashless fire. It was, we suppose, in a cell or oratory, and not in the open air, though Giraldus makes no mentiom of any building within the enclosure.

This fire was kept continually lighting from the time of St. Brigid, until it was extinguished by the order of Henry of London, in 1220, "to take away all occasion of superstition." It was, however, rekindled and kept lighting till the time of Henry VIII. There is no statement that it was ever kindled from the teine-eigin, or ever put out and rekindled It was, however, in the precinct of the monastery in a sacred enclosure, surrounded by a hedge, which no male might enter. It was customary in pagan times to surround places struck with lightning with a hedge, and Apuleius speaks of such a place as "locus sæpimine consecratus," a place consecrated with a hedge. It was near the famous oak that gave a name to the spot—cill-dara, the church of the oak. The author of the 4th Life of St. Brigid tells us: "For there was there a very tall oak tree, which St. Brigid greatly cherished, and she blessed it. The trunk (stipes) of it remains there still, and no one will dare to cut a bit from it with knife or hatchet (ferro). But if anyone can break a bit off with his hand, he counts it a treasure."[36]

Giraldus often visited Kildare, where he saw the "marvellous Book of Kildare," since lost, "containing the Four Gospels, according to St. Jerome, every page illustrated by drawings, illuminated with a variety of brilliant colours. . . The more often and closely I scrutinize them,

[34] The Four Masters mention a ꝼeꞃꞇa cꞁoꞃaċ. Was this an enclosure for folding sheep or, as O'Donovan suggests, a place in which there was a great mortality and a grave of sheep? Tigernach has *Cerban escop o Ferta Cerbain mortuus est.* Was this the grave of Cerban, or a ferta after the manner of St. Patrick, founded by him?—*Rev. Celt.*, xvii, 125.

[35] Brigida custodi ignem tuum. Te enim nox ista contingit.

[36] Quercus enim altissima ibi erat quam multum S. Brigida diligebat et benedixit eam, cujus stipes adhuc manet et nemo ferro abscindere audet et pro magno munere habet, si qui potest frangere manibus aliquid inde.—Colgan, SS.. Vol. II., p. 550.

the more I am surprised, and find them always new, discovering fresh causes for increased admiration." [37]

In the worship of Mithra and the Avesta-liturgy, there were psalmodic prayers before the altar of fire. The worshipper held a bundle of sacred twigs (boresman), in his hand, offerings of milk, oil and honey were made, and strict precautions taken lest the breath of the officiating priest should contaminate the divine flame.[38]

The Galtchas of Ferghana, according to M. de Uffalvy, are so reverential that they would not blow out a light lest they should render the flame impure with their breath; so the inhabitants of Badakshon and Bokhara.

The Bollandists, after citing Giraldus textually, add:—

As to the religious motive for which the nuns kept the fire of St. Brigid, as has been stated, we have often read in the lives of the Irish Saints, that the fire consecrated specially by the bishop on the night of Easter, used to be carefully kept for the whole year as we shall tell in the life of St. Kieran (March 5)—Or the fire was elicited from heaven by the prayer of some Saint, as may be seen in the life of St. Kevin. From one or other of these causes the ritual usages (ritus) of the nuns at Kildare appear to have been derived.[39]

At Seir the fire consecrated by the Saint at Easter, from which all the fires in the place were lighted every day, was once wantonly put out by the boy Cichridug. St. Kieran said there should be no fire again until the following Easter unless it were sent from heaven. The monks and their guests were shivering with the cold. Then the saint, by prayer, got a ball of fire from heaven by miracle.

This fire was probably obtained by the use of the ustorium speculum (burning glass).

Flint and steel with tinder were used for striking and kindling fire. Brendan struck fire from flint (silice ferro percusso) to cook his fish. This apparatus was called Tenlac Teineo, and was carried in the "girdle pocket." Hence Teine-Creara, girdle fire. Tinder was called "sponc," and was made from dried leaves of *coltsfoot*, and later of coarse brown paper steeped in a solution of nitre and dried. Pope Zacharias, writing to St. Boniface, says "The Irish kindled great fires at nightfall on Easter Eve from flints.'

[37] Top. Hib. Dis. II., c. 38.
[38] The *Mysteries of Mithra*, 26, by Cumont, F.
[39] Boll., *Acta, SS.* (1867), Vol. 4, p. 114, Vol. 7, p. 393.

We have very little doubt that the Aryan fire-cult had a place side by side with the worship of the sun and the other elements in Erin, and that our texts were carefully "cleaned" from any reference to it. The fire was probably kept at first in the King's great house, in the women's quarters, and attended to by the maidens of the King's household. There was, no doubt, an altar with representations or "idols" of the sun (ᚌᚁᚐᚅ) there, whence it came to be known as the "grianan."[40] The fire was afterwards kept in the maidens' *ferta*, on the slope, in a shrine within it, or if not kept there constantly, was placed there for great celebrations. The most important of these would be the making of the "new fire" from the sun itself, and we may presume that it was on such an occasion the maidens were assembled who were slain by the raiders from Leinster.[41]

[40] In some parts of the Highlands almost up to the present day an enclosure or paddock was called a grianan. Bannock's Irish Druids, 192, and *infra*. c. 16, the "grianan" of Ailcach, in the Circuit of Muircherlad of the Leather Cloaks.

[41] "Lynch," says Petrie, who does not dissent, "was of opinion that the maidens were Vestals." We are unable to go that length.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE RELIGION OF THE GAEL BEFORE ST. PATRICK.—II.

THE Druids now claim our attention. The word Druid (*drai*, gen., *druad*) is, probably, connected with the root "dru," a tree, which in "δρῦς" afterwards came to signify an oak in Greek. The earliest oracle in Greece was in Dodona, in Epirus, where there was an *oracular* oak tree which Odysseus went to consult.

Ἐκ δρυὸς ὑψικόμοιο Διὸς Βουλὴν ἐπακόυσαι.

"From the tree with lofty leafage Zeus's will to hear."—
Od. XIV., 327.

The tree was the φηγός, an oak tree, bearing an esculent acorn, and the rustling of the leaves was believed to be the whispering of the tree god, who was subsequently absorbed into the anthropomorphic Zeus. Pausanias says it was the oldest tree in Hellas, except the λύγος, within the sanctuary of Hera, at Samos.[1] The olive on the Acropolis, the olive at Delos, the laurel of the Syrians, and the plane tree of Menelaus, in Arcadia, came next in order. In Erin the trees of enchantment were the rowan, quicken, or mountain ash, the hazel, the yew, and the blackthorn. The oak, as a magic wood is, we believe, not mentioned in our texts. There was no cutting of the mistletoe by moonlight, as in Gaul. Draoidheacht (Druidism) now means enchantment. It meant originally "wizardry" in all its forms. Before the coming of St. Patrick we find, within or beside the class of Druids, the file, the bard, and the brehon. The brehon was a judge; the file was a poet-philosopher; and the bards occupied a subordinate position, and were in the main roving minstrels and reciters of the lays of love and war. They congregated in troops, and in the course of time became a public nuisance.

[1] *Paus.* viii. 23. Frazer, I., 401.

As the brehon, the file, and the bard emerged from the Druids the latter became in the main soothsayers and charm workers. They used to be consulted as to the success of expeditions, as by Cormac MacArt, Dathi and others, as far back as the Tain. Then they took auguries, caused mists and winds, etc., by magic, and observed the flight of birds, the passage of clouds, and the movements of the stars.

In the *De Divinatione*, Cicero, addressing his brother Quintus, says:—

> The barbarous nations even do not neglect this art of divination. Take for instance the Druids in Gaul, with one of whom Divitiacus, the Aeduan, your host and admirer, I was acquainted. He professed to have a knowledge of natural science, which the Greeks call physiology, and partly by auguries, and partly by soothsaying (conjectura) used to predict what was going to happen."[2]

An earlier account by Timagenes is preserved for us by Ammianus Marcellinus, who tells us that Timagenes was a Greek by language and erudition (diligentia), and had collected from many books facts which had remained unknown for a long time.

"Throughout the provinces of Gaul," Ammianus continues :—

> The people gradually becoming civilized, the study of liberal accomplishments flourished, having been first introduced by the bards, the euhages, and the Druids. The bards used to sing in heroic verse to the sweet sounds of the harp (lyra) the brave deeds of famous men ; the euhages searched closely into the forces and powers of nature, and attempted to expound them. Amongst them the Druids, men with loftier minds, and bound together in associations of fellowship according to the teaching of Pythagoras, ascended to speculation on things high and hidden, and looking down on what was temporal, proclaimed that the soul was immortal.[3]

There is an undertone of the rhetorician Timagenes in this, especially at the conclusion, but it presents to us a picture sub-

[2] Siquidem et in Gallia Druidæ sunt e quibus ipse Divitiacum Æduum cognovi, qui et naturæ rationem quam *φυσιολογίαν* Græci appellant, notam esse sibi profitebatur, et partim auguriis partim conjectura, quæ essent futura dicebat.—*De Div.* I. 41.

[3] Et bardi quidem fortia virorum illustrium facta heroicis composita versibus, cum dulcibus lyræ modulis cantitarunt, euhages vero scrutantes serio vim et sublimia naturæ pandere conabantur; intereos druidæ ingeniis celsiores ut auctoritas Pythagorae decrevit, sodaliciis adstricti consortiis, questionibus occultarum rerum altarumque erecti sunt, et despectantes humana pronuntiarunt animas immortales

Eahages = vates, soothsayers (?), Ammian. Marcel, XV., g. 2. *Ed. Eissenhardt.*

stantially the same as our texts present. The Druid is still a wizard. When we meet him in the text of Cæsar, which we shall quote, we shall find that he has changed his character and status completely. He has become a sacrificing priest and a person of the highest political importance, and has acquired a status and a position which he never attained in Erin. Amongst the Aedui, for instance, according to usage (ex more), the Druids elected Convictolitavis, chieftain, in the case of a disputed succession—a choice which Cæsar found it prudent to ratify, [4]

M. Bertrand is not quite satisfied with the account Cæsar gives of Druidism in Gaul, and says his statements require to be taken with some reserve. This may be so, but the main outlines of his description, which is all that we are concerned with, are undoubtedly true, and we have no other evidence equally trustworthy to rely on. There is no mention of Ierne or Hibernia in any classical text in connection with Druidism.

Cæsar says it was supposed that the system (disciplina) came originally from Britain, and that many still went there (he does not name any place in Britain) to study the teaching more carefully. Tacitus refers very briefly to the Druids of Mona (Anglesea) in describing the attack on that place in A. D. 61. "On the shore of Mona stood the opposing army with its dense array of armed warriors, while between the ranks dashed women in black attire like the Furies, with hair dishevelled, waving lighted torches. All around the Druids, lifting up their hands to heaven and pouring forth dreadful imprecations, scared our soldiers, . . . Their groves, devoted to cruel superstitions, were cut down. For they thought it rightful to cover their altars with the blood of captives and to consult their gods through the entrails of men." [5]

This statement is highly coloured, and must be received with great reserve. The information did not reach Tacitus from Agricola, who had left Britain long before.

We shall now give somewhat fully (in translation) the statement contained in the 6th Book of the *Gallic War*.

In all Gaul (writes Cæsar) there are two classes of persons only who are held in any consideration or honour—for the common folk are reckoned almost as slaves. The Druids are one class, the knights

[4] B. G., VII., 33. [5] *Ann.*, XIV., 30.

(warriors) the other. The former attend to religious matters, provide for sacrifices, public and private, and expound questions touching religious obligations and rites. All the Druids have one president, who has the greatest authority among them. On his death, if one is pre-eminent in worth he succeeds; if several are equal they contend for the presidency by the vote of the Druids, and sometimes even by fighting. The Druids abstain from war and pay no taxes. The main belief they wish to inculcate is that souls do not perish, but pass after death from one body to another, and they think this the greatest incentive to valour, as it leads man to despise death. They discourse much also concerning the heavenly bodies and their movements, the size of the earth and the universe, and the attributes and power of the immortal gods, and impart their lore to the young. The whole nation is addicted to superstition, and for that reason, those who are afflicted with severe illness, or who are engaged in war, or exposed to danger, either sacrifice human beings as victims, or vow that they will do so, and employ the Druids to carry out these sacrifices. For they think that unless the life of man be rendered, the mind (numen) of the immortal gods cannot be appeased. They have also sacrifices of the same sort as public institutions. A little before our own time, slaves and retainers, of whom the deceased were known to have been fond used to be burned along with them when a funeral was held with full rites. It is the god Mercury they chiefly worship; of him there are most images. Next to him they worship Apollo, Mars, Jupiter and Minerva.

The Germans differ greatly from these habits. For they have no Druids to preside at divine worship, nor do they practise (student) sacrifices. They recognize as gods only those whom they see and by whose aid they are manifestly assisted, namely, the Sun, Fire (Vulcanum), and the Moon; the rest they have not even heard of.[6]

What Cæsar says of the Germans was true of the Gael; the religious customs or superstitions of both were Nordic. There is a silly story to be found in our texts of a young girl being fed on human flesh to make her ripe for marriage at an earlier age, a dietary which had the desired result! It is the only mention made of such a practice, and Keating acutely enough observes, that if there were any others they would not have been concealed. There is, in like manner, only a single instance recorded of what is supposed to be human sacrifice, if we except the Semitic Cult already dealt with.

A poem in the "Dindsenchus" says that St. Patrick, in the Fair of Tailtin, preached against the three bloods :—

> Yoke oxen and slaying milch cows,
> And also by him the burning of the first born (primeet).

It has been suggested that "primect" applies to human

[6] B.G. VI. 13 to 22.

beings. We cannot think so. The poet would not have placed them after cows and oxen. It clearly means calves and first fruits (primitiæ). Moreover, if the poet, writing several centuries afterwards, supposed that children were sacrificed in Erin in the time of St. Patrick, it would show his ignorance but not prove the facts.[7]

The burial alive of 50 hostages round the tomb of Fiachra, the son of Eocaid Muigmeadoin, is recorded in the Book of Leinster, and the Book of Ballymote:—Fiachra, and Aillil his brother, went into Munster to lift pledges, and went with a large army. A battle was fought, in which they were victorious, but Fiachra was wounded. On his way back to Tara with 50 hostages and large booty, he died of his wounds at *Forrach*, in Westmeath. His grave was dug, his lamentation rites performed, and his name written in Ogham. "After which, in order that it might be perpetually for a reproach to Munster, and a fitting matter with which to taunt them, round about Fiachra's grave the pledges whom they had brought out of the south were buried and they alive."—B. B. The Book of Leinster records that—"Fifty pledges that Eocaid's sons brought back out of the west, it was at a month's end after the battle that Fiachra was dead, and it was around the king's grave that the pledges were buried alive."[8]

The Book of Lecan presents the matter in a different way, and states that the hostages fell on Fiachra unawares, and buried him alive (*i.e.*, attempted to do so, we suppose). In any case it was not a *sacrifice*. It was punishment for attempting to kill Fiachra and escape; or revenge for his death from the wounds he had received fighting against Munster; or revenge accompanied with insult.[9] In several parts of Gaul, and some parts of Germany, before the Roman Conquest, human sacrifices were very popular, and commonly practised. These were sacrifices proper—religious functions publicly conducted according to a fixed ritual, by priests. There is no pretence for saying that there was ever anything of the kind in Erin, except

[7] Sullivan, M. and C., Vol. I., DCXLI.

[8] Silva Gaedelica, Vol. 2, p. 377 and 543. Ꝛoclaıdeꝺ a lecht ⁊ ꝓolaeꝺeꝺ a ꝼeaꝛt ⁊ ꝓohaꝺnaꝺh a cluiche |caeınlech ⁊ Ꝛo-Scꝛıbaꝺh a aınm Oꝺaım. O'Grady does not follow this text, which appears to be corrupt, Vol. 1., 334. Professor Sullivan translates—His Lcacht was made, and his Fert was raised, and his Cluiche Caenlech was ignited.—M. and C., Vol. I., p. 320.

[9] O'Donovan, Hy Fiacrach, 345.

the Semitic use, as we already stated (c. 2), neither Druids nor priests are named in the *Ill Brechta*, or Law of Colours.

There is no evidence to support the view that Druidism passed originally from Britain into Gaul. Druidism as a system of wizardry is a phase in the evolution of thought and cult, and we find nothing to support the view that in Cæsar's time it had got beyond that phase in Britain; and if students went to Britain, we suspect it was to perfect themselves in charm-working and fortune-telling. It may be confidently asserted that there never existed in Britain an organization such as we find described in the *Commentaries*. If it existed, it would have been specifically mentioned by Cæsar or by Tacitus. Its political importance would have arrested the attention of the former; the latter would have been curious to ascertain what views they held about the immortality of the souls of great men—the "magnæ animæ" of Agricola. And even if the statements as to the practices in Mona were well founded, which we do not admit, no inference could be safely drawn from what was done in an isolated locality, and probably by a racial remnant, as to the religion or religions of Britain in general, which was even then, we believe, largely occupied by men of the Nordic stock—*e.g.*, the Belgæ and others—and in particular by the powerful nation of the Brigantes, who were the people whom Agricola found to resemble the Gael so closely in national customs and intellectual characteristics.

We find in the Leabar na h-uidhre, an old text,[10] the "Senchus na relec," from which it may be inferred that the conception of Monotheism, if not of Christianity, had reached Erin some centuries before the coming of St. Patrick. Our translation is founded on that of Petrie:—

"A great king of great judgment assumed the sovereignity of Erin *i. e.*, Cormac, son of Art, son of Conn of the Hundred Battles. Erin was prosperous in his time, because just judgments were distributed throughout by him; so that no one durst attempt to wound a man in Erin during the short jubilee of seven years, for Cormac had the faith of the one True God according to the law; for he said that he would not adore stones or trees, but that he would adore Him who had made them and who was a power behind all the elements[11] (ro po comsid ar cul na oli dula), the one strong, powerful God who formed the

[10] Facsimile, p. 50.

[11] Petrie has "had power *over all* the elements." This, we think, misses the point, namely, that the power was *arcul* behind the elements.

elements, it is on Him he would believe. And he was the third person who had believed in Erin before the arrival of Patrick. Concobar Mac Nessa, to whom Altus had told concerning the passion of Christ; Moran, the son of Cairbre Cinnceat (*i. e.*, Mac Main), the second man; Cormac the third; and it is probable that others went on their road as to this belief. And his eye was destroyed by Oengus Gaibhuaiphnech, and he resided afterwards at the house at Cletech (on the Boyne), for it was not lawful for a king with a personal blemish to reside at Tara. In the second year after the injuring of his eye he came by his death at Cletech, the bone of a salmon having stuck in his throat.[12] And he told his people not to bury him at Brugh, as it was a cemetery of idolators, but to bury him at Ros na Righ with his face to the east. He afterwards died, and his servants of trust held a council and resolved to bury him at Brugh, the place where the kings of Tara, his predecessors, were buried. [13] The body of the king was afterwards lifted up to be carried to Brugh and the Boyne (was) on the bank (i tleacht) high up so that they could not come. So they took heed that it was unjust to override the decision of the prince, to override the last will of a king."[14]

The Four Masters state the circumstances attending Cormac's death as follows:

"A. D., 266, the bone of a salmon sticking in his throat on account of the *siabhradh* (genii), whom Maeilghean, the Druid, incited at him after Cormac had turned against them on account of his adoration of the True God in preference to them. Wherefore a devil attacked him at the instigation of the Druids, and gave him a painful death."

The expression "according to the law" (do reir rechta), seems to indicate that Cormac was a monotheist awaiting the coming of Christianity. Recht is Faithae are the usual words for the Law and the Prophets, and if the tradition was that Cormac had received baptism it would have been clearly stated. In the evolution of Aryan thought a time was sure to come when the "power behind the elements" would be discovered and a system of either polytheism or monotheism would be introduced. It is not unreasonable to suppose that some knowledge of the teaching of Christ, derived from captives

[12] H. 3, 17, Trin. Coll., has "in addition." or it was the *Siabhra* that killed him, *i.e.*, the Tuatha De Dananns, for they were called *Siabhras*.

[13] Petrie, *Round Towers*, p. 99.

[14] About two miles below Slane the Boyne becomes fordable, and there are several islets. On the south bank is Ross-na-Righ—the Headland of the King; on the northern bank, in the curve of the river, southwards, where stand Knowth, Dowth and New Grange, was the Brugh-na-Boine, according to the generally received opinion. A mound recently levelled was pointed out as the grave of Cormac, "adjoining a pagan burial place, where *human* bones are found scattered about and *bones of great size have been dug up*."—E. Hogan, S.J., Cath Ruis-na-Rig for Boinn, p. vi.

and from traders and dealers, would have given the movement we have indicated a monotheistic impulse, preparing the way for the Gospel message.

We have already seen that there were Christians in Erin before the mission of our Apostle. Palladius was sent to "believers," and the Confession states that many ("so many") thousand captives, who were not obedient to their priests, were sold into Erin like the Saint himself. It is only reasonable to suppose that the example and teaching of these missionaries scattered through the land must have borne fruit. There is further a very striking piece of evidence which has hitherto, strangely enough, remained unnoticed, and which we regard as worthy of very attentive consideration. In the Tirechan text we find an account of the Saint's second visit to Laoghaire, at Tara, as follows:—

And St. Patrick went again to the city of Tara to Loaghaire, the son of Neill, because he had made a compact with him that he should not be killed in his kingdom; but he could not believe, saying—"*My father Niall did not permit me to believe*, but (wished) that I should be buried on the ramparts of Tara, as if antagonists (viris) were halting in battle. The son of Niall (on the ramparts of Tara) and the son of Dunlang in Maiston (Mullaghmast) in the Plain of Liffey, for the lasting of hate as it is. For the heathen used to be buried in their sepulchres armed, with weapons ready, face to face (with the foe) until the day of Erdathe, "as the Magi call it, that is the day of judgment of the Lord."[15]

The writer evidently means the day of resurrection; the grave is frequently referred to in our texts as the place of resurrection. "The body of Laoghaire was, according to an account in the Leabar na h-uidhre[16] brought from the south and interred, with his armour of valour, on the south-west of

[15] Perrexitque ad civitatim Temro ad Loigarium filium Neil iterum, quia apud illum fœdus pepigit ut non occideretur in regno illius; sed non potuit credere, dicens. "*Nam Neel pater meus non sinivit mihi credere, sed ut sepeliar in cacuminibus Temro, quasi viris consistentibus in bello*," quia utuntur Gentiles in sepulchris armati promptis armis facie ad faciem usque ad diem *Erdathe* apud magos id est judicii diem Domini "*Ego filius Neil* (incacuminibus Temro) *et filius Dualinge im Maistim in campo Liphi pro duritate odii ut est hoc.*" Ut est hoc is a Gaelicism, mop ata pe, as it is. We think it right as the text is very important to give an alternative translation by Todd. "For Niall, my father, did not permit me to believe, but (commanded) that I should be buried in the ramparts of Tara (in cacuminibus Temro) as men stand up in battle for the Gentiles are wont, etc. . . I the son of Nial (must be buried after this fashion as the son of Dunlaing (was buried) at Mæstin in the Plain of Liffey, because of the endurance of our hatred."—Todd, p. 438, 34*a*.

Eogain Bell, a Christian King of Connacht, ordered that he should be buried in his armour, which order was carried out after his death in A.D. 521. O'Donovan Hy. Fiach, 472.

the outer rampart of the Royal Rath of Laoghaire at Tara, with his face turned southwards on the men of Leinster as fighting with them, for he was the enemy of the Leinster men in his lifetime." He was killed by the sun and the wind, etc., after a reign of thirty years, in A.D. 458.

The passage is important for two reasons. In the first place it suggests that in the lifetime of Niall (+ 406) Christianity had not only reached Erin, but had made a lodgment within the precincts of Tara. Who was inducing Laoghaire to "believe"? Was it some captive Bertha or Clotilde about whom our texts are silent? In the next place it prepares us for the statement of Muirchu, who tells us that Laoghaire, having reconsidered the matter announced that he had come to the conclusion that it was "better to believe than perish," and accepted the Faith. This news we may remark would quickly reach Rome and Prosper of Acquitaine. It is suggested that his implacable hate prevented his conversion. We do not think the objection valid. If St. Patrick insisted on every Gael giving up *ex corde* his tribal antipathies before admitting him to the laver of baptism we suspect he would have had a very small congregation. Even nowadays there are very many sound haters who think themselves, and are generally considered, to be tolerably perfect Christians. Nor need the fact of his taking the pagan oath two years and a half before his death under stress of circumstances in order that he might be released from captivity, make any difficulty. The weight to be attached to the taking of the pagan oath is greatly overbalanced in our judgment by the fact that he broke it very soon afterwards, not having before his eyes the fear of the sun and the moon and the wind.

We may not omit to mention here a curious old prophecy referred to by Muirchu, and given in a Latin version and also in a Gaelic version, which latter, however, was inadvertently omitted by the scribe in the text which has reached us. It shows the alarm of the wizards before the coming of the Saint, which was, no doubt, caused by the success of the humble efforts which preceded his apostolate. Laoghaire had prophets and soothsayers who were able to foretell the future by their

[16] Leabar na h-uidhre, text printed in Petrie, Tara, 146.

[17] Ni ṫuc immoꞃo a ꞃaṫa ꝺi oiꝺ—Ibidem.

evil arts. Two of those wizards often declared that a foreign worship, destined to exercise great power, together with a certain hurtful teaching, would be introduced from over sea from afar; a religion which would be taught by few, received by many, and honoured by all, and would overthrow kingdoms. They pointed out the bringer of this teaching in a sort of verse, often repeated by them, especially two or three years before the coming of the Saint, which can be expressed more clearly in Gaelic than in Latin :—

> Tiefa tailchenn tar muir meircenn,
> A brath tolchenn, a chrann cromchenn,
> A miar in airthiur a tige
> Frisgerat a muinter uile
>
> Amen, Amen.

> Axehead will come over a furious (?) sea,
> His mantle (chasuble) head-holed, his staff crook-headed,
> His paten (altar) in the east of the house,
> All his people shall answer
>
> Amen. Amen.

When these things come to pass, our Kingdom, which is heathen, will not stand.[18]

"Axehead," refers to the form of the tonsure which, we may observe, cannot have been the Druidical tonsure, if there was such, as in that case it would not have been distinctive. To describe it roughly, the Gaelic tonsure was half a circle, extending from a line drawn from ear to ear at the back, but confined to the top of the head, the circular part lying frontwise, having a fringe of hair all around it.

A good deal has been written on the form of the Celtic, or, as we prefer to call it, Gaelic tonsure. In our judgment, Bishop Dowden is perfectly right in his contention that the front part of the head was not completely shaved, as some urge, but that there was a fringe of hair left to mark the outline of the semi-circle. "It is plain," he observes, "that if the whole of the hair on the front of the head was shaved off there would be nothing resembling a

[18] Muirchu gives *Asciput* as the Latin equivalent for tailchenn, and this is usually translated adzehead; we suggest that axehead is the better meaning, having regard to the form of the tonsure, which, assuming that there was a frontal fringe, would correspond fairly enough with the shape of an axe, but would not correspond at all with the shape of an adze. Ascia, an axe for hewing wood; a carpenter's axe.—Lewis and Short, *sub voce*. *Trip. Life*, 274.

corona of hair." [19] We add further, that in that case their would be nothing resembling an axehead, whereas with the fringe the resemblance of the shorn crown to an axehead is striking. The bishop adds:—

"The passage in Abbot Ceolfrid's letter to Naiton, King of the Picts (A.D. 710), preserved by Bede, seems very distinctly to say that viewed in front there seemed to be a crown, but that when you looked at the back of the head you discovered that what you thought you saw was cut short, was not a real and complete crown."

The words in Bede we translate:—

"Which (tonsure) to look at on the surface of the forehead is seen to present the appearance of a crown, but when you arrrive at the back of the neck examining it you will find what you thought was a crown is cut short." [20]

We understand this to mean that the circle is not completed; it is roughly a semi-circle instead of a whole circle. Ceolfrid says the complete circle was necessary to represent the crown. But this is not so. The *Crown of Thorns*, which the tonsure symbolized, is represented by Correggio, in the "Ecce Homo," as an incomplete circle, and is not widely different from the Gaelic tonsure.

Another passage in the same letter is even more decisive. Ceolfrid tells us that when Adamnan visited him he said to him:—"I beseech you, holy brother, who believest that thou art going to the crown of a life that has no end why, in a fashion contrary to your belief, you bear the form of a crown that has an end." [21] This can only mean that the coronal circle did not go round, but was ended before the circle was complete. So much for the form of the Gaelic tonsure. Another aspect of the question will engage our attention later on.

We do not propose to enter here into the "Pelagian controversey" raised by Zimmer. All scholars are now of one mind that his assumptions are bold to the verge of rashness, and his inferences hasty and ill-considered. In addition to what we have already written we shall confine ourselves to quoting the

[19] *Celtic Church in Scotland.* Dowden, J., Bishop of Edinburgh, p. 242.

[20] "Quae (tonsura) aspectu in frontis quidem superficie coronae videtur speciem praeferre; sed ubi ad cervicem considerando perveneris decurtatem eam quam te videre putebus invenies coronam."—Bede, V. 21.

[21] Obsecro, sancte frater qui ad coronam te vitae quae terminum nesciat tendero credis, quid contrario tuae fidei habitu terminatam in capite coronae maginem portas?

following passage from Professor Bury. Referring to "The Celtic Church in Great Britain and Ireland," he observes:—

"The most striking part of the sketch is the new theory of Patrick, whose Confession, once waived aside by the author as spurious, is, along with the missive to Coroticus, emphatically admitted as authentic. It is impossible here to criticise the theory which is worked out with seductive ingenuity, or I should have to raise the whole Patrician question; but I may just say that Professor Zimmer's theory seems to me to have two radical defects. It does not account for the facts, and it is not based on an adequate study of the sources."[22]

The Church had not as yet defined its teachings on the points involved, and there were many phases of Pelagianism before it crystallised into the formal heresy we have already given in outline. It is possible, nay, probable, that some of the views held by Pelagius, or which were attributed to him by adversaries with a keen *flair* for heresy, or by followers who were, so to say, more royal than the king, had reached and were disturbing the little Church in Erin. The fact that Palladius was sent to the believers indicates that Rome thought there was at least a case for inquiry, possibly danger ahead against which it would be prudent to take precautions. And further, considerations of this kind may have entered into the motives which induced our Apostle in his old age to write his profession and testimony. We shall not, however, pursue the matter further. An essay on the aberrations of a great scholar in a field of knowledge which he had not made adequately his own would be distasteful writing and unprofitable reading.

[22] Eng Hist Rev XIX. (1893), 534, and see Articles by Dr. M'Carthy, Ecc. Rec. XIV., and Malone Eccl. Rec. XII.

CHAPTER XIV

THE SENCHUS MOR AND THE TRIBAL SYSTEM.

IN olden time, before the rise of Chancery and Equity, the laws of England were divided into two branches—the Common Law and the Statute Law. The Common Law was the common custom of the realm, handed down by tradition from immemorial time, and reposing securely in the breasts of the judges. In the same way the tribal customs in Erin were the common law for each tribe, and remained unwritten until after the reception of the faith. Afterwards some parts of this customary law were reduced to writing—those parts, as it appears to us, which from their great detail and enumeration of minute particulars, could not be entrusted safely to the keeping of the most tenacious memory. This, however, was not done officially. There was no codification of the customs, no digest, no work—official or non-official—giving a completed view, even in outline, of the civil and criminal jurisprudence of the country.

Spenser, in his *View of the State of Ireland* (1595), describes the Brehon Laws as "*a rule of right, unwritten, but delivered by tradition from one to another*, in which oftentimes there appeareth a great share of equity in determining the right between party and party; but in many things repugning both to God and man—*e.g.*, compensation for murder—the *eric* fine, by which vile law many murders amongst them are made up and smothered."[1]

"The original Brehon Text," observes Richey, one of the editors, "consists altogether of curt and proverbial expressions which rarely attempt the completeness of a sentence, and are strung together without any attempt at logical or grammatical connexion. The words are written without stop or accent, continuously, without break. A Brehon judge, reading a pas-

[1] The Brehons delivered judgment from commentaries and *maxims* (ꞃoꞅcaıoıb ꞁ ꞅaꞅaıʒıb) Stokes' *Corm. Gloss. Fasach*, 76.

sage for the first time, would find it difficult to understand it. The customary rules, to be found in the text, rarely afford reliable information. They are intended to serve as catchwords, to assist the memory, to recall what had been previously communicated, generally in a rhythmical form, always in language condensed and antiquated. They assume the character of abrupt and sententious proverbs, the drift of which can only be vaguely guessed at. Collections of such sayings are to be found scattered through the Brehon Law Tracts."[2]

There is no treatise on any part of the customary law purporting on the face of it to be written by a Brehon, stating, as was usual in such case, the name of the author and the place and cause of writing.

There is a legend that all those customs were submitted to St. Patrick, and that they were then purified and reduced to writing. No such body of laws has reached us, and there is no sound reason for believing that any such ever came into existence. The texts which have reached us are known as the Brehon Law Tracts, and all the important ones have, we believe, been published in the five volumes of the *Ancient Laws of Ireland*, issued in the Rolls Series. These tracts may be divided into two parts. The first part is contained in vols. i., ii., iii. (1-79) of the Rolls Series, and comprises (1) The Law of Distress; (2) Hostage, Sureties; (3) Fosterage; (4) Saer Stock; (5) Daer Stock; (6) Social Connexions; and (7) The Corus Bescna.

These constitute the *Senchus Mor* (Shanahus More) or great old tradition, and are preceded by some marvellous prefaces in which we are told by one editor that Cormac MacNessa was Ard Righ of Erin, and by another that in the reign of Cormac MacCuelennain "there was an opportunity for establishing legislative authority, or the enactment of laws."

Distress is a legal term with which we are familiar in the law of landlord and tenant. It means the seizure and detention of goods and chattels. Procedure to enforce a demand commenced, according to Gaelic custom, with the seizure and detention of the defendant's goods. The object of this was to compel him to satisfy the claim, or else to go voluntarily before the brehon to

[2] *Ancient Laws*, Vol. iv., p. x.—and see L'histoire traditionille de xii. tables Mèlanges, Chappleton, 1903, par E. Lambert.

have the matter in dispute decided according to the tribal custom. Public opinion, and, probably, if necessary, the "strong hand"[3] compelled the defendant to abide by and perform the award of the brehon, but there was no recognized machinery for legally enforcing it. There was no sheriff nor sheriff's bailiff to execute the decree. In the case of a person belonging to the inferior grades the text of the law provided that notice should precede every distress. When a claim was made against a chieftain or a bishop, "fasting on" the chieftain or bishop was the first step in the procedure.

If the chieftain refused to cede to fasting he was to pay double the thing for which he was "fasted upon." He might, however, "give a pledge to fasting," and have the case tried. If a pledge was offered, and the fasting continued notwithstanding, the claim was lost altogether.

This custom of fasting on a debtor existed in recent times, and probably still exists, in the Native States in India. In Hindu Law it is called "Sitting Dharna." "Dharna," observes Maine, "according to the better opinion, is equivalent to the Roman 'Capio,' *i.e.*, seizing or distraining." It would thus be equivalent to the Gaelic Ac-gab-ail (Distress) gab-im, being equivalent to *cap*-io, and fasting would, in reality, be a form of distraining.[4]

It is erroneously stated in the Preface (vol. ii., p. xl.) that in the case of a debtor who had no property, if he was of the chieftain grade, he could, after one day's notice, be arrested, unless he could get a native to become surety for his remaining in the territory until the case was tried. In the case of an absconding debtor, the "fine" was liable after notice. Kings could not be distrained in person out of regard for the dignity of their office, but their stewards might be distrained in their stead.

Fosterage—the giving and taking of children for nurture—was a custom widely diffused amongst Aryan communities, and occupied a position of great importance in the tribal system of Erin. It was a social tie of the most binding character, uniting tribesmen of different grades, and men of different tribes and septs in the warmest and most enduring affection. It was of two kinds—fosterage for affection and fosterage for

[3] Il serait lynché," D'Arbois.
[4] Maine, *Early Hist.* 203.

reward. The tract contains minute regulations regarding the duties, liabilities, and rights, attaching to both kinds.

We shall refer only to the provisions regarding education. The sons of an *ogaire*, the lower grade of a *flaith*, or noble, were taught the herding and care of lambs, calves, kids, and young pigs; kiln-drying, and the combing of wool, and wood-cutting. The daughters were taught the use of the quern, the sieve, and the kneading-trough. The sons of an *aire-desa*, a noble of high rank, were taught swimming, shooting, horse-manship, chess-playing, and horn playing—their music. The daughters were taught needle-work, cutting-out, and embroidering.

"A king's sons shall have horses in times of races." A horse was to be supplied from the time the child attained seven years, and horsemanship taught. It was not taught to the Feine-grades, which mean here the grades under the grade of Flaith.

The Fosterage continued till the "age of selection," *i.e.*, marriageable age, which was thirteen for girls and seventeen for boys.

We shall refer to the tracts dealing with saer stock and daer stock in our next chapter.

The second division of the Tracts comprises:—(1) The Book of Aicill; (2) The Taking of Lawful Possession; (3) Judgments of Co-tenancy; (4) Bee Judgments; (5) Right of Water; (6) Precincts; (7) Of the Judgment of every Crime; (8) The Land is Forfeited for Crimes; (9) Divisions of Land; (10) Divisions of the Tribe; (11) Crith Gablac; (12) Sequel to Crith Gablac; (13) Of Successions; (14) Small Primer; (15) Heptads; (16) Judgments on Pledge Interests; (17) Confirmation of Right and Law; (18) Of the Removal of Covenants.

Of these Tracts, the most important for our purpose would be the *Crith Gablac and Sequel*, which purport to deal with the grades of society, if they were at all reliable. This is, unfortunately, not so. The grades of society, says the author of the Tracts, are seven in number, like the seven ecclesiastical orders, "for it is proper that for every order in the church there should be a corresponding order among the people." We adopt in regard to it the views of Richey, who says:—

The Crith Gablac may be fairly characterised as the fantastic production of an antiquarian lawyer of a strong ecclesiastical bias,

composed at a date at which the tribe system was breaking up, and the condition of the people, moral and material, had much deteriorated. The work is of the highest value as an antiquarian treatise rather on account of the general principles which it assumes, and the incidental statements it contains than from the accuracy of its classifications or the truth of its minute details, and any deductions founded upon a belief in its historical value must lead to conclusions involving the too common error of substituting an imaginary for the actual condition of the people.[5]

Of the other texts we have enumerated we shall only refer to the Book of Aicill, which occupies the whole of Vol. III. of the Brehon Law Tracts, except 79 pages, and is the most important of them. It commences:—"The place of this book is Aicill, near Tara, and the time is the time of Cairbre Liffechair, son of Cormac, and the cause of its having been composed is the blinding of Cormac" (details as to which we have already given). "And Cairbre used to go to Cormac to Aicill about every difficult case, and Cormac used to say, 'My son, that thou mayst know, and explain the exemptions.'" It is a treatise on the criminal law and on the law of Torts. It contains such provisions as that every judge was punishable for neglect, and that the "cat was exempt for eating the food in the kitchen if it was negligently kept, but not exempt if the food was taken from the security of a house or vessel."[6]

Strangely enough, though it was composed in part at least by Cormac (227-266), and added to by Cenfaelad, who was wounded at the battle of Magh Rath (642), it is not included in the Senchus Mor. To this we must now return, and place before our readers the legend concerning it, which is duly chronicled in the first volume of the Brehon Law Tracts.

According to this legend Nuada Derg, the brother of King Laoghaire, at his instigation, killed one of St. Patrick's people, "that he might discover whether the saint would grant forgiveness for it." Then the saint was angered and raised up his hands towards the Lord and remained in the attitude of prayer with his hands crossed. And there came a great shaking and an earthquake at the place, and darkness came upon the sun and there was an eclipse, and they say that the gate of hell was then opened and that Tara was being overturned, and then it was that Tara became inclined. And the

[5] Richey, *Anc. Laws*, III., ccvii

[6] A ṁic ara feiser 7 na blaċ.

Lord ordered him to lower his hands and to obtain judgment for his servant that had been killed, and told him that he would get his choice of the Brehons in Erin; and he consented to do this as God had ordered him.

He chose Dubthac Mac Ua Lugair, and this was grievous to Dubthac, and he said: "It is irksome to me to be in this cause between God and man, for if I say that this crime is not to be atoned for by *eric fine* it will be bad for thy *eric* (*i.e.*, the honour price that he would be entitled to, as we shall see, for the killing of his servant), and thou wilt not deem it good.[7]

"If I say that *eric fine* is to be paid and that (if it is not paid?) it is to be avenged, it would not be good in the sight of God. For what thou hast brought with thee into Erin is the judgment of the Gospel, and what it contains is perfect forgiveness of every evil by each neighbour to the other. What was in Erin before then was the judgment of the law, *i.e.*, retaliation; a foot for a foot, an eye for an eye, life for life" (when the *eric fine* was not paid).

Dubthac afterwards delivered a metrical judgment, in which he said:—

> Yea, every living person that inflicts death (maliciously)
> Whose misdeeds are judged shall suffer death.
> He who lets a criminal escape is himself a culprit.
> It is evil to kill by a foul deed.
> I pronounce the judgment of death.
> Nuada is adjudged to Heaven (*i.e.*, his soul).

The commentator adds—It was thus the two laws were fulfilled. The culprit was put to death for his crime, and his soul was pardoned (*i.e.*, on his baptism),

After this sentence the saint requested the men of Erin to come to one place to hold a conference with him, and the Gospel was preached to them. "And they bowed down in utter obedience to the will of God and Patrick. Then Laoghaire said, 'It is necessary for you, men of Erin, that every other

[7] We have translated the text according to our view of the law. As it stands translated in Vol. I. we are unable to understand it. When the eric fine was not paid, the *talio*, which was suspended only on condition of the fine being paid, revived. The Church elsewhere fought against this, took the culprit into sanctuary, arranged the fine or weregild, and in the last resort delivered him into slavery on condition that his life should be spared. It is a highly important text when properly understood.

law should be settled and arranged by us as well as this.' 'It is better to do so,' said Patrick. It was then that all the professors of the sciences in Erin were assembled, and each of them exhibited his art before Patrick, in the presence of every chief in Erin. It was then that Dubthach was ordered to exhibit the judgments and all the poetry of Erin, and every law which prevailed among the men of Erin, through the law of nature, and the law of the prophets (or seers), and in the judgments of the island of Erin, and in the poets." What did not clash with the Word of God in the written law and in the New Testament, and with the consciences of the believers, was confirmed in the laws of the Brehons by Patrick and by the ecclesiastics, and by the chieftains of Erin, for the law of nature had been quite right, except the faith and its obligations, and the harmony of the Church and the people. And this is the *Senchus Mor.* The entry in the Four Masters referring to these events is A.D. 438. "The tenth year of Laoghaire: The *Senchus* and Feinechus of Erin were purified and written."

The commentary states that the *Senchus* was completed in the ninth year after the coming of Patrick (432 A.D.) The authors were, according to the legend, and as stated in Cormac's Glossary:—Laoghaire, Corc, Daire the Firm, three Kings, Patrick, Benin, and Cairnech the Just, three saints; Rossa, Dubthach, and Fergus with goodness, three sages of poetry, of literature, and of the language of the Feini. They were the nine props of the *Senchus Mor.*[8] Such is the Legend.

This was, we are told, the Cain Patrick, and no human Brehon of the Gael is able to abrogate anything that is found in the *Senchus Mor.* The text states it contained four laws: (1) Fosterage (2) Saer stock (3) Daer stock (4) Social relationship, and also the binding of all by verbal contract, for the world would be in a state of confusion if verbal contracts were not binding. There are, it states, three periods at which the world dies: the period of a plague, of a general war, and of the dissolution of verbal contracts. There are three things which are paid, viz.: Tenths, first-fruits, and alms, which prevent the period of a plague, and the suspension of amity between a king and the country, and the occurrence of a general war. These tenths and first fruits are more specifically dealt with in the tract called *Corus Bescna*, which appears to have been

[8] Cor. Gloss., Noes, p. 122.

written by the author of the legend, or to have been in part copied from it. The right of a church from its people, it states, are tithes, first fruits, and firstlings. What are firstlings? Every first birth of every human couple, every male child of the first lawful wife, and every male animal of small or lactiferous animals. First fruits are the first of the gathering of any new produce, whether small or great, and every first calf, and every first lamb that is brought forth in the year—every tenth afterwards, with a lot between seven (*i.e.*, to set aside the three worst of the ten, and cast lots between the remaining seven, according to the commentary), with her lawful share of each family inheritance to the Church, and every tenth plant of the plants of the earth, and of cattle every year. All this is part of the *Senchus Mor*. We are asked to believe that all this was ordained by the chieftains of Erin within six years after the arrival of the saint. We refuse to believe it, though we admit that it would be very desirable that so extensive a claim should, if rightfully established, be placed under the ægis of our apostle and the kings and chieftains of the country. We refrain from saying anything about Dubthac's judgment. If there is anyone so constituted mentally as to believe that King Laoghaire allowed his brother to be executed for killing the charioteer of a foreign missionary at his request, no argument of ours would be likely to change his opinion. The legend, as we have seen, says nothing about the law of distress, which is now the largest part of the text of the *Senchus Mor*, nor of the Book of Aicill, which is the most important, and, seemingly, the oldest of these Law Tracts. The oldest text of the *Senchus Mor* is a fragment which may be fixed at 1350 A.D. The residue of the text is one or two centuries later than Cormac's Glossary, which is ascribed by Stokes to the 10th century. The legend is not mentioned in the Patrician documents—neither in the Book of Armagh, nor in the Tripartite Life. There is no doubt, however, that the *Senchus* and the other texts contain much that was old, very old, when they were written, and, taking the indications to be found in them, scattered, confused, and often contradictory, as they are, and supplementing them from other sources of information, we feel justified in presenting the following views to our readers:—

It is not our purpose to open up here the question of the origin of property in land, or to go very deeply into the question

of Tribal Customs. It is, however, necessary to say something about the latter. Seebohm has made a special study of Tribal Custom. He has examined the Burgundian and Visigothic laws, the laws of the Salic and Ripuarian Franks, the earliest Norse and Scandinavian laws, and the laws of Scotland. In particular, he has made a close and minute examination of the tribal system in Wales, recognising, as he tells us, "the value of a substantial knowledge of one tribal system as a key to unlock the riddles of others." [9]

In Cymru (Wales) the social unit was a group of kindred called a "gwele," which word is represented in the Extents by "lectus," and which Seebohm understands to mean a "bed." The child was received into the "gwele" on the oath of the mother in the church where the burial-place of her people was. She placed her right hand on the altar, and her left hand on the head of her child. The child was then formally received as of kin. Until the age of fourteen the youthful Cymro was to be at his father's platter, who up to that time was to be responsible for him in everything. The father then took the boy to the lord or chief to commend him to his charge, and then the youth became his man, and he was to answer every claim himself thenceforth, and to receive from the chief his *da*, *i.e.*, an allotment of cattle, with the right of joining in the co-ploughing of the waste lands. He became a full tribesman in his own right by "kin and descent." The gift of cattle was apparently a binding of the relation between the youth and his chief.

It is, perhaps, permissible to suggest that the giving of cows, which we shall meet with presently, in the Gaelic system, may have had its origin in a similar usage. The *gwele* into which the young tribesman entered in due course was a family group of four generations, the landed rights of which were vested in the great grandfather as its chief of kindred (penceneadh).[10]

During the life-time of the chief of the "gwele," the shares of his sons, *i.e.*, the shares of maintenance which they were entitled by custom to get out of the undivided land, stock, etc., were called, Seebohm thinks, "gavells." They are described as

[9] *Tribal Custom in Wales*, vol. i. (1895). *Tribal Custom in Anglo-Saxon Law* 1902.

[10] Seebohm *Wales*, 64. *Anglo-Saxon Law*, 22.

'gavell" (apparently *farm*) in the Extents. On the chief's death the sons became chiefs of these gavells or sub-gavells, but the "gwele" did not then break up. When the two brothers (if only sons) died, their sons would be entitled to take equally, *per capita*, undivided shares, *i.e.*, if one brother left three sons and the other six, each would take one-ninth. When these nine were all dead, their sons (second cousins) would be entitled to take, in the same way, *per capita. divided* shares,[11] and the "gwele" was then broken up. Females were entitled to portions, which they took out of the "gwele" on marriage, and at the time of the Cymric Codes, the date of which is disputed (probably of the 12th or 13th century, embodying archaic usage), the orphaned sons of a deceased member were allowed to take the place of their father in the arrangement we have described. A family group, somewhat wider of seven, or in some cases nine, generations was collectively responsible in the case of homicide—a crime likely to cause a blood feud between kindreds. The members of the contributory group paid the death fine (galanas) in unequal proportions, and, in turn, when one of their group was killed, the death fine was divided amongst them in the same proportions.[12] Within the kindred there was no death fine for homicide. The murderer, if it was a case of murder, was too near in blood to be slain. He was driven out, became a "kin-wrecked" man, and fled like an outlaw to find shelter where he could. The payment of the death fine was thus a matter, not between individuals, but between the two kindreds. This outline will make the Gaelic system more intelligible. It is unnecessary, however, to go into further detail. What we have given has been taken from Seebohm's authoritative works.

At the reception of the Faith in Erin, society was in the tribal stage of evolution. As under the Cymric custom, the tribal unit appears to have been, not the individual, nor yet the immediate family, but a group of kindred. Within this group there was social solidarity, and, with some exceptions, the members of it were connected by ties of blood. This group was called a *fine*, a word which was also used sometimes

[11] *Wales*, 33.
[12] *Anglo-Saxon Law*, 29.

for the immediate family. It was divided into four *hearths* or grades of kindred :—

1. *Geil Fine*—Father, son, grandson, brother ...	4
2. *Derb Fine* — Grandfather, paternal uncle, nephew, first cousin	4
3. *Gar Fine* — Great-grandfather, great-uncle, great-nephew, second cousin	4
4. *Ind Fine*—Great-great-grandfather, great-great-uncle, great-great-nephew, third cousin	4
Chieftain (probably)	1
Total	17

The subject of the *Four Hearths* is obscure, but the foregoing is the explanation given by M. D'Arbois, and Seebohm observes that "viewed in the light of other tribal systems, it seems to be nearer to the mark than the various other attempts to make intelligible what, after all, are very obscure passages in the Brehon Law Tracts. The sixteen persons making up the four divisions of the *fine* or kindred must be taken, I think, as representing *classes* of relations and not individuals, *e.g.*, under the head 'first cousin' must be included all first cousins, and so on throughout." In the Brehon Tracts the number of this group is stated to be seventeen persons, and Seebohm adds: "He himself (the chieftain) would form the seventeenth person on the list."

The *Four Hearths*, comprising in this way the sixteen grades nearest of kin to the criminal, were liable to the four hearths of the man killed in the cases where *eric* was payable, and the *fine* received in the same proportionas it paid. The shares of the various grades were unequal, but fixed in definite proportions whether *eric* was received or paid by them. This was as between one *fine* and another. As between the culprit and the other members of his *fine*, in the case of homicide of non-necessity, *i.e.*, "where the death was intentional and not deserved by the injured party."—(III., 697.)—the murderer and his property were given up for it in the first instance, but the liability of the *fine* remained if this proved insufficient.

In cases of necessary homicide, *i.e.*, by misadventure, and so excusable, all the *fine* contributed proportionally, the

culprit not more than his defined quota. In cases other than homicide, the culprit paid all in the first instance, and the person injured received all the compensation.

The *eric fine* was composed of two elements:—

I.—*Corp dire* or Body fine proper, which was the same for all classes—seven cumhals or twenty-one cows, to which was added one cumhal for compensation (aithgen).

Total = Seven cumhals.

II.—*Eneclann* (face price), usually called *honour price*, *i.e.*, payment for insult, which was not confined to homicide and varied according to rank.

These two, with some exceptional additions, made up the *eric*.

Enech-lann varied according to rank, and was a most important element in tribal custom. Besides entering into the *eric* fine, it regulated the value of the tribesman's oath, his guarantee, his pledge and his evidence. It was the honour price of the person injured or slain that had to be paid. Seebohm states[13] that in the case of *homicide* it was the honour price of the *slayer*, not "the honour price of the slain that was to be paid, *i.e.*, the higher the rank of the slayer the greater the payment to the kindred of the person slain." He founds this view very naturally on the following passage, which he quotes from the translation of the Book of Aicill, p. 99:—"The double of *his own honour price* is due of each . . . for secret murder." On referring to the Gaelic text, however, it appears to be faulty at this point. The word *eneclann* does not occur. The words are ᴅiᴅlaᴅ a lain ᴅuᴅein. The words should probably be ᴅiᴅlaᴅ lain eneclainm, *i.e.*, the double of the full honour price of the person slain. That this is so is shown in the Book of Aicill (p. 497). In the case of a chieftain or saer tribesman refusing to attend, or going away from a hosting, he incurred both a *smaet* fine and honour price fine. And it is provided "that whenever it is a *smaet* fine that is paid, it shall be paid according to the rank of the person who pays it. And whenever honour price is paid, it shall be paid according to the rank of the person to whom it is paid."[14]

[13] *Trib. Cust.* in *A.S. Law*, c. IV. and p. 81.

[14] *Anc. Law.* III, 99.

Homicide, undoubtedly, was not an exception to this rule. If a king or a bishop was killed by a daer tribesman (ceile), would the honour price of the latter be accepted by the *fine* of the former? Surely not. If the tribesman was satirized or insulted, if his protection was violated, if he was robbed, or his wife or daughter was abducted, *his* honour price was the measure of the damages he was entitled to. So the honour price of the man slain was, we make no doubt, the measure of the damages to which the *fine* were entitled.

The system of eric fine found no favour with the Angevin, or English lawyers, who came to Erin. There were no hangings and quarterings, and above all no forfeitures. Spenser thought, as we have seen, that the system led to the commission and screening of murder.

This, however, may well be doubted. The *fine* who had to pay the *eric* were, no doubt, a very vigilant police to prevent such outrages, and punish the culprit when they deemed it fit to do so. The *eric* was only a settlement of the quarrel between *fine* and *fine*; it did not apply to inter-tribal homicide, and our texts are singularly free from records of assassinations, poisoning, and other malicious homicides. The *talio* is found in nearly every civilization at a particular stage. It was, no doubt, a step in advance. It involved an inquiry before a judge in most cases. It ordered men to put some curb on their passions, and observe some proportion between the injury and the punishment.

An eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth was better than that human life should be taken, often on suspicion, for every trifling insult. By it, however, the tribes were led into keeping a sort of debtor and creditor account of acts of violence, and when this went on for a few generations, the blood feud (fich bunaed) was firmly established, and revenge became a pious and a public duty. In putting an end to this, the system of *eric fines* was in its turn useful, and found a place in due time in every system where the *talio* once prevailed. We do not, of course, suggest that it was as good as the system of criminal jurisprudence which exists to-day amongst civilised nations. But we venture to think if the choice were offered to an enlightened jurist to-day to decide between the *eric* system and the barbarous system of death penalties for petty theft, which was the Draconian Law of England in Spenser's time and

until the beginning of the last century, he would, for a community circumstanced as the Gael then were, give his preference to the *eric* system.

After explaining the meaning of the terms used to indicate the honour price, we shall now give a list of "honour prices" of the various ranks in the community, compiled with great industry and care by Seebohm, from the Brehon Law Tracts, as accurately as the confused and often contradictory nature of the material permitted.

The cumhal, or bondmaid, was the highest barter unit in Erin. How this came to be so we cannot say. Ridgeway says, "in Homer the cow is the principal barter unit, but the slave is occasionally employed as a higher unit."[15] It is tempting to suggest that there was a foreign trade in slaves, to account for it, but we distrust tempting suggestions, especially those which we make ourselves, and prefer to wait for better knowledge on this point. At the time we speak of, the cumhal was used merely as a unit of account, and was reckoned at three great milch cows or plough-oxen, which are said to have been valued at twenty-four screpalls. The screpall, again, was equal to three silver pennies, each of which weighed eight grains of wheat, so that the *pinginn* was nearly equal to the silver penny of Elizabeth's time.

HONOUR PRICE LIST.[16]

				Cumhals.
Flaith (*Cow Rent Receivers*).				
Ri Tuaith	...	...	...	7
Aire Forgaill, 15 Seds,	30 Seds,	or ...	...	6
„ Tuisi, 20 „	„	...	...	4
„ Ard, 15 „	„	...	...	3
„ Desa, 10 „	„	...	...	2
Cow Rent Payers.				
Bo Aire, 5 Seds		or ...	...	1
Og Aire, 3 Seds of Cow Kind		„ ...	...	1
Medboth Man,	Adairt Heifer	„ ...	Colpach Heifer.	
(The lowest grade in the *free* community).	(two years' old)	„ ...	(three years' old).	

In our next chapter we shall consider the *status* of the tribal occupier, and the way in which his rights were dealt with at the time of the confiscations and evictions in the six counties of Ulster.

[15] Ridgeway's *Metallic Currency*, 30, 33.

[16] The *Sed* here may be taken to be a Ri sed, and equal to a milch cow or plough-ox. All the estimates and statements should be received with great reserve. —Seebohm, *Cust. in A. S. Law*, p. 91. By cow rent we mean rent paid for cows like the rent of the modern "dairyman" in Ireland.

CHAPTER XV.

THE TRIBAL OCCUPIER AND SIR JOHN DAVIS.

THE tribal district was at first, as a matter of fact, and afterwards in theory, considered to be the property of the tribe, and the enjoyment of it by the tribal units was in early times of a simple and easily intelligible character. Specific portions of it were marked off for each *fine* or family group for a dwelling and curtilage, and some "board-land" was set apart for the chieftain for his life. The remainder consisted of arable, pasture, and waste land. The pasture and waste were used in common, each group being allowed to place so many cows, horses, sheep, etc., upon it.

We suggest that the arable land was farmed, as in mediæval times, by a system of fallows in this way: Let us suppose a fallow in alternate years. A field of, say, one hundred acres, was tilled by a certain number of groups one year. Their shares in the field were measured, and were then assigned to each group by drawing lots, as is still the custom in the country when a field of old pasture is turned up and let out in half acres for potato planting. The next year that field remained in fallow. In the third year the groups did not go back to their old portions, but drew lots again for their plots in the field. In the interests of good husbandry this system was better than a mere tenancy at will. Every tribesman joined in the field of one hundred acres was interested in having every plot in it properly tilled, as it might fall to his own lot on the next division. Moreover, there could be no "jerrymandering"; everything was fair, open, and above board. Cæsar says of the Germans—"They do not apply themselves much to agriculture, and their diet consists principally of milk, cheese, and flesh meat. Nor has anyone a fixed measure of tillage land (agri) and boundary marks for himself, but the magistrates and chieftains assign *to the family groups related in blood* who have come together, the amount of tillage land they think proper, where they think

proper, and compel them to change to another (place or plot) the ensuing year. They give many reasons for this. (1) That they may not be tempted by uninterrupted use to exchange the pursuit of war for agriculture. (2) That they may not be eager to acquire large estates, and the weaker (tribesmen) be turned out of their holdings by the more powerful. (3) That they may not build houses carefully constructed to avoid heat and cold. (4) That there may be no greed for wealth which gives birth to faction and discord. (5) That they may keep the mass of the people contented when each man sees that his property is as large as that of the most powerful." Again, of the Suevi, he says more briefly—"There is no tilled field amongst them in private or separate ownership, nor do they continue in one plot (loco) more than one year tilling it." [1]

So Horace says of the Getae:—"Nec cultura (tillage) placet longior annua," *Od.* iii., 24, and Tacitus: "Arva per annos mutant."—*Germ.* 26.

Cæsar says, as regards the Suevi:—"Men of huge frames" (immani corporis magnitudine, like the Gael), that they changed from place to place every year for dwellings (incolendi causa) as well as for *fallows*, as we suggest.

The mensal lands were at first attached to the chieftainship, and passed in succession from chief to chief. But after a time, whether by appropriation of these mensal lands or othewise, the chiefs and more powerful amongst them encroached on the public ownership, and class distinctions were developed in the way Cæsar (writing the views of a Roman Democrat about *latifundia*) points out. As regards Ireland, this matter is exceedingly obscure, and we find no intelligible and reliable information in our texts enabling us to speak with confidence until we reach the period of the confiscations in Ulster. For this reason we shall not attempt to follow conjecturally the various stages of the growth and development of the organisa-

[1] Agriculturæ non student, majorque pars eorum victus in lacte, caseo carne consistit. Neque quisquam agri modum certum aut fines habet proprios, sed magistratus et principes in annos singulos *gentibus cognationibusque hominum* qui tum una coierunt quantum, et quo loco visum est agri attribuunt atque anno post alio transire cogunt. Ejus rei multas afferunt causas; ne assidua consuetudine capti studium belli gerendi agriculturæ commutent, ne latos fines parare studeant potentioresque humiliores possessionibus expellant; ne accuratius ad frigora atque aestus vitandos ædificent, ne qua oriatur pecuniæ cupiditas qua ex re factiones dissensionesque nascuntur, ut animi æquitate plebem contineant cum suas quisque opes cum potentissimis æquari vident.—*Bell. Gall.* vi., 22. The similarity between the Gael and Nordic Germans in religion, social customs, and skulls, is striking and suggestive.

tion of society, and shall deal very briefly with the intermediate period.

The Gael, like the Germans, did not apply themselves much to agriculture. The principal wealth of the tribe consisted in herds and flocks—in cows, pigs, sheep and horses. The tribal units had a right to pasture a certain number of horses, cows and sheep on the common pasture lands, and to place a certain number of swine in the common woods; having regard to the number of the population there was enough and to spare for everybody. The only pasture land, held in severalty, was certain "board land" assigned to the chief. Long before the time of the Brehon law tracts, many changes had taken place. Society had become divided sharply into free and unfree classes. To begin at the bottom, there was a large body of slaves, the probable number of whom there is no means of estimating. Next in order probably came a class of persons called *fuidirs*. They are supposed by some to have been non-tribesmen—strangers from another tribe, or foreigners who came to reside on a chieftain's land. After three or four generations, like the *Cymric Attüds*, they probably became recognised as freemen. In the fourth generation, it is said, they perhaps became *daer botach*, half free, and in the fifth, *sencleithe*. This is what might be expected from the analogy of other systems; but we are not in a position to speak with any certainty on details, as the accounts we have, and the meanings assigned to the terms *midbod fuidir*, *daer botach* and *sencleithe* are not uniform.

Next in the ascending scale came the cow-rent payers. These stood below the *Flaiths*. In the *Senchus Mor* there is, as we have seen, a treatise on saer stock and on daer stock. This mode of occupation is referred to in the translation as "saer stock *tenure* and daer stock *tenure*." The texts, however, refer to the letting and hiring of stock exclusively, and are silent as to the letting of land. In the case of "saer stock," the letting was without security, and so it was called "saer," *i.e.*, a free letting. In the case of "daer stock," the letting was with security, and the hirers were called "daer," *i.e.*, unfree hirers, or *giallna*. The chief could compel the tribesmen to take a certain quantity of stock without security (ꝼaeꝼ-ꝼaꞇ). On the receipt of saer stock the tribesman was bound to yield homage, and at the end of three years to give a sed, *i.e.*, a cow, in addition, or to pay an equivalent in food, rent, etc., and also to do some

labour at the erection of the dun (fort) and the reaping of the harvest; he was bound also to go on military service.

No one was bound to take *daer-stock* even from his own chieftain, or king. It was a matter of contract. The *saer-tenant* could not separate from his chieftain, unless the latter was indigent and so required his stock back. Nor could the chieftain require his stock back unless the tribesman became indigent and the security of the stock was placed in danger.

The food rent was free to the successor of the chief (flaith) for the chief is not competent to forgive the food rent so as to bind his successor (113).

Saer stock or daer stock from an external chief might be returned or claimed back at any time. As regards *daer stock* it could not be received without the consent of the tribe, which shows that the ownership of the tribe land was in the tribe and not in the *ri, flaith* or *bo-aire* individually.

The stock is received either with or without the knowledge of the *fine* by the tribesman (ceile); for if it was unknown to them [that he did so], they could impugn his contracts; but if it was with their knowledge though the stock be ever so great it is fastened upon them. (page 222).

From the *ri-tuaith* to the *Bo-aire* and *ogaire* the various grades of society were bound together by the nexus of stock-taking. At each step the inferior takes stock from, and pays food-rents to, the higher. When the Brehons came to the *Ard-ri* they were puzzled. Honour-price was fixed, as we have seen, by rank, and rank was estimated and delimitated by stock-taking. From whom did the *Ard-ri* take stock?

Four times seven cumhals to the King of Erin without opposition, for which (being without opposition) he received stock from the King of the Romans, or it was by the co-arb of Patrick the stock was given to the King of Erin; but whichever of them is supposed to give stock to the King of Erin, it is not to show *giallna* hiring in him, but to show honour price. (225).

The sketch we have just given shows that the tribe and every member of it had definite rights in the tribal land, that the land belonged to the tribe, and that nothing could be further from the real facts of the case than the pretence that the chieftain or *righ* was a kind of owner in fee-simple or

allodial owner, of the tribal lands, and that the tribesmen were tenants at will on his estate and liable to be evicted by him or by anyone, the Crown not excepted, claiming through him. We shall now consider how the tribal occupier's rights were dealt with at the time of the confiscations and evictions in the six counties of Ulster.

On the accession of James I. in 1603 the Irish policy adopted by the Government in the first instance was to "*settle*" the various "countries," and establish freeholders. This was in effect a return to the enlightened policy of Henry VIII., who had stood out tenaciously against the project of confiscation and plantation, which his hungry courtiers, demoralized by the plunder of the churches and monasteries in England, urged persistently upon him. This wise policy was not, however, maintained. If the English courtiers had sharp appetites, the Scottish crew who followed in the wake of the Stuart were famished. And the monarch then, or a little later on, was borrowing money at ten per cent. for the public service. The Exchequer being empty, the courtiers should look elsewhere to gratify their cravings.

Appointed Solicitor-General in 1603, and Attorney-General in 1606, Sir John Davis held office until 1619, and it was during his time, and, to a large extent, by his actions and instrumentality, that the policy of forfeiture, confiscation, and eviction was substituted for the policy of conciliation and the conversion of the tribal occupiers into freeholders. The various phases of the policy appear in the correspondence between Davis and Salisbury, from which we make extracts. The italics are ours.

In April, 1604, Davis wrote to Salisbury :—

He (*i.e.*, the Earl of Tyrone), seeks to secure that, by an order from the State, all the tenants who formerly dwelt in his country, but are now fled into the Pale and other places to avoid his extreme cutting and extortion, should be returned unto him by compulsion; albeit these tenants had rather be strangled than returned unto him. I hope to see in the next Parliament an Act passed in this land that shall enjoin every great lord to make such certain and durable estates to his tenants as would be good for themselves, good for their tenants, and good for the Commonwealth.

It does not stand with reason of State or policy that Tyrone should have such interest in the bodies of the King's subjects; for it was this usurpation upon the bodies and persons of men that made him able to make war upon the State of England, and make his barbarous followers

think they had no other king, because their lives and their goods depended upon his will. In England, "Tenants at will" enabled Warwick and the great lords in the Barons' wars to raise so great a multitude of men. Whereas, at this day (tenancies at will being replaced by fixed estates), if any of these great lords of England should have a mind to stand upon their guard—well, they may have some of their household servants or retainers, or some few light-brained, factious gentlemen to follow them. But as for their tenants—these fellows will not hazard the losing of their sheep, their oxen, and their corn, and the undoing of themselves, their wives, and their children, for the love of the best landlord that is in England.[1]

Chichester was appointed Deputy, and, in the phrase of the period, "came to the sword," in Dublin, on February 3rd, 1605. He was, it would appear, instructed to pursue the policy recommended by Davis. Soon after his appointment, he issued a proclamation which had been prepared beforehand, and which bears date March 11th, 1604. This highly important proclamation states that the Deputy had received Letters Patent from the King, in which, after signifying his desire to establish the commonwealth and the realm (of Ireland), he took particular notice of two mischiefs there. The first was the renewing of claims and challenges concerning private injuries and public offences during the late rebellion. This he remedied by granting a full amnesty up to the 20th March in the first year of his reign. The second mischief, which concerns us more nearly here, was "the continuance of such oppressions and exactions as had been usurped by divers chief lords of countries, on the bodies, lands, and goods of the tenants and freeholders of the same, whereby the said tenants and inhabitants were enforced wholly to depend on the will of their said lords, being deprived by reason of their ignorance and the remote places wherein they dwelt, of that benefit of the Common Laws and royal protection which his other subjects enjoyed to their unspeakable comfort." The Lords and gentlemen of countries were, in remedy of this, forbidden to imprison for debt, trespass, or private displeasure, or to levy any fine without lawful warrant of the ordinary Minister of Justice.

As regards the lands situate in these countries, the proclamation states that the lords who had received Letters Patent of territories from the Crown, under colour of the general words in the Patents, "claim and challenge to themselves the interest

[1] *Ir. Cal.*, I. 60 and 100, condensed.

and possession of such lands as divers ancient freeholders and their ancestors had been lawfully seized of, within the said territories, by course of inheritance, beyond the time of memory; the said lords and gentlemen alleging sometimes that the said freeholders were but tenants-at-will; and sometimes that they have forfeited all the said lands by the late rebellion, whereas, in truth, the most part of the said freeholders were driven into rebellion by the said lords and gentlemen themselves, and yet were never attainted for the same; but having received his Majesty's gracious pardon for their said defection, so as then they stood as clear and upright in the law as any other loyal subjects." The mischief was remedied by declaring that according to the true intent and meaning of the Patents, the general words did not affect the interests of the freeholders, and the lords were strictly enjoined to allow them to enjoy the same without extorting cuttings or exactions.

There were also, the proclamation states, on divers scopes and extents of land, persons who had no certain estate nor place of habitation, and the lords were enjoined so to dispose of their lands, as to receive certain rents and duties, and forbear from the use and usurpation of cuttings and cosherings.[2]

It is not at all likely that the condition of the general body of tribal occupiers was at all benefited by this proclamation.

In the summer of 1616, Davis accompanied the Lord Deputy (Chichester), the Chancellor and others, in a visitation they made in the counties of Monaghan, Fermanagh and Cavan, with the view of settling these countries, and making freeholders. In a letter to Salisbury he gives a very full account of the state of Fermanagh (Maguire's country), which shows that the tribal arrangements we have described, though impaired by the usurpations of the chieftains, were still in the main preserved.

"We found Fermanagh," he wrote, "to be divided into seven baronies, containing each 7½ ballybetaghs of land, in all 51½ ballybetaghs of land, chargeable with Maguire's rent and other contributions of the country. In addition there were free lands, (1) Termon or church lands, (2) Mensal lands of Maguire, (3) Privileged lands of Chroniclers, Rhymers and Gallowglasses. This amounted to about two ballybetaghs.

[2] The contention was that the attainder included the inferior tenants, whilst the new Patents did not expressly mention their interests, and that consequently *their* interests were not resuscitated, and that the new patentees took the land discharged from them.

"Maguire's mensal lands lay in several baronies, and did not exceed four ballybetaghs. They were free from charges of the country, because they yielded a large proportion of butter and meal and other provisions for Maguire's table. Besides these food rents (from the Mensal lands), Maguire had about 240 beeves yearly paid unto him out of the seven baronies, and about his castle at Enniskillen he had about a half ballybetagh, which he manured (tilled) with his own churls. . . . There are many gentlemen who claim estate of freehold in that country by a more ancient title than Maguire himself doth to the chiefrie."[3]

The area of Fermanagh is 289,228 statute acres, of which at least 115,000 are arable.

Joyce gives the usual acreage of the ballybetagh in tabular form :—

1 Tricha, ced, or luath	equal	30 Ballybetaghs.
1 Ballybetagh	„	12 Sesrachs (or plough lands).
1 Sesrach	„	120 Ir. acres.[4]

A ballybetagh or townland was sufficient to maintain "300 cows without one touching another;" it contained 3,500 statute acres.

We may supplement this description by a reference to Sir Toby Caulfield's account of the Earl of Tyrone's estate, over which he was appointed receiver after the flight of the Earl. This valuable document shows (1°) That no certain portion of land was let by the Earl to any of his tenants, as they are called; (2°) that the rents received by the Earl were received partly in money, partly in victuals, oats, butter, pigs, sheep, etc.; (3°) that the money-rents were chargeable on the cows that were milch or in calf that grazed on his lands, at the rate of twelve pence the quarter the year; the cows to be numbered at May and Hallowtide.

The amounts of the rent for the years ending Hallowtide, 1608, 1609, 1610, were £2,102, £2,862, and £2,847 respectively. We understand these to be rents from the demesne lands of the Earl, stated to be in the counties of

[3] Fermanagh, at the close of the sixteenth century, consisted of a certain number of ballybetaghs, each of which contained four quarters, and each quarter four *tates* (a name peculiar to Cavan and Monaghan). Thus each ballybetagh contained sixteen *tates*, each *tate* being estimated at 60 $\frac{1}{10}$ Irish acres. The *tate* continuing in local use was stereotyped there as a townland containing on the average 184 statute acres. The ballybetagh, according to this, was = 184 × 16 = 2,944 statute acres.—Reeves' *Proc. Ry. Ir. Ac.*, vii., 477. In the survey made for the Plantation, according to Hill (107) these *tates* are set down as thirty acres Irish or thereabouts, and the undertakers got them at this estimate.

[4] *Soc. Ir*, I. 40, II. 372.

Tyrone, Armagh, and Coleraine. Sir Toby was appointed to take charge of such lands and territories as belonged to the traitor in Tyrone, Coleraine, and Armagh. Allowing the then value of money to have been over fifteen times as much as at present, the rental was moderate for his demesne lands alone.[5]

The food rents of Maguire's mensal lands were contained in a parchment roll in the possession of O'Brislan, a chronicler and principal brehon of that country. O'Brislan was summoned; he said the roll had been destroyed by the English, but the Lord Chancellor "did minister an oath unto him. The old man, fetching a deep sigh, confessed that he knew where the roll was, but said that it was dearer to him than his life, and that he would never produce it unless the Lord Chancellor would take a like oath to return it. The Lord Chancellor, smiling, gave his hand and word, and thereupon the old brehon drew the roll out of his bosom. "When it was translated, we perceived how many porks, how many vessels of butter, and how many measures of meal and other such gross duties did arise unto Maguire out of his mensal lands. In time of peace he did exact no more; marry, in time of war he made himself owner of all, cutting, *i.e.*, exacting, what he listed, and imposing as many *bonaghts* or hired soldiers upon them as he had occasion to use. In the late war he hired them out of Connact and Breifne O'Reilly, as his own people were inclined to be scholars and husbandmen rather than kerne."

"We called unto us the inhabitants of every barony severally, and had present several of the clerks or scholars of the country, who knew all the septs and families, and all their branches, and the dignity of one sept above another, and what families or persons were the chiefs of every sept, and who next, and who were of the third rank and so forth till they descended to the most inferior man of all the baronies. Moreover, they took upon them to tell what quantity of land every man ought to have by the custom of their country, which is of the nature of gavel kind, whereby as their septs or families did multiply their possessions have been from time to time sub-divided and broken into many such parcels as almost every acre of land hath a several owner, which termeth himself a lord and his portion of land his country, notwithstanding that Maguire himself had a chiefry over all the country and some demesnes

[5] *Ir. Cal.*, III., 532.

that did pass to him only, that carried that title. *So was there a chief of every sept, who had certain services, duties or demesnes that ever passed to the tanist of that sept, and never was subject to division.*" All these details they took down, descending to such as possessed two tuaths. There they stayed, as they knew that "*the purpose was to establish freeholders fit to serve on juries*, and less than two tuaths would not make a 40s. freehold per annum *ultra reprisalim*, and, therefore, were not of competent ability for that service, yet the number of freeholders *named in this country was above 700.*"

This report, made out in this way, was handed to the Deputy, who called the principal inhabitants into the camp, and told them that he came on purpose to understand the state of every particular man in that country, to the end that he might establish and settle the same. His lordship's speech and good demonstration to the people gave them great contentment. "Touching the inferior gentlemen and inhabitants it was not certainly known to the State in Dublin whether they were only tenants at will to the chief lords (whereof the uncertain cuttings which the lords used upon them might be an argument), or whether they were freeholders yielding of right to their chief lord certain rents and services, as many of them do allege, affirming that Irish cutting was an usurpation and a wrong."

CHAPTER XV.—*(Continued.)*

THE TRIBAL OCCUPIER AND SIR JOHN DAVIS.

DAVIS was thus at first fully in agreement with, and an energetic advocate of, the policy we have indicated, and his views were, no doubt, fully shared by the Deputy Chichester. It was probably with the view of bringing more prominently into relief the precarious character of the possession of the inferior occupier of the soil that the Deputy obtained from the judges the following Resolution[1] as to the legal character of what was called the Irish custom of gavelkind:—

First it is to be known, reports Davis,[2] that in every Irish territory there was a lord and chieftain and a tanist, who was his successor apparent. And of every Irish sept or lineage there was also a chief who was called a *Cennfinny* or *Caput Cognationis*. All the possession within the Irish territories (before the common law of England was established in this realm as it now is) ran always either in course of tanistry or in course of gavelkind. Every seigniory or chiefry, with the portion of land which passed with it, went without partition to the tanist, who always came in by election or the strong hand, and not by descent, but all the inferior tenancies were partible between the males in gavelkind. Yet the estate which the lord had in the chiefry or which the inferior tenants had in gavelkind was not an estate of inheritance but a temporary or transitory possession; for as the next heir of the lord or chieftain was not to inherit the chiefry, but the oldest and worthiest of the sept, as is shown before (F. 78) in the case of tanistry, who was often removed and expelled by another who was more active and strong than he, so the lands of the nature of gavelkind were not partible amongst the next heirs male of him who died seized, but amongst all the males of his sept in this manner. The *Cennfinny*, or chief of the sept (who was commonly the most ancient of the sept), made all the partitions at his discretion, and after the death of any tenant who had a competent portion of land, assembled all the sept, and having thrown all their possessions into hotchpot made a new partition of all, in which partition he did not assign to the son of him who died the portion which his father had, but he allotted to each of the sept, according to his seniority, the better or greater portion. . . Also, by this custom, bastards had their portion with the legitimates, wives

[1] It is reported by Davis himself in Law French. We give it translated and abridged.

[2] *Hill* 3, Jacobi, 1606.

were excluded of dower, and daughters were not inheritable although their fathers had died without male issue. By the custom of Kent the lands were partible among the male heirs, bastards were not admitted, wives were entitled to dower, females in default of males inherited. The Irish custom was agreeable in several of these points to the custom of gavelkind, which was in use in N. Wales, which was reproved and reformed by the Statute of Rutland made 12 E. I., and utterly abolished by the Statute 34 H. VIII., c. 28. For these reasons, and because all the Irish countries and the inhabitants were from thenceforward to be governed by the rules of the common law of England, it was resolved and determined by all the judges that the Irish custom of gavelkind was void in law, not only for the inconvenience and unreasonableness of it, but because it was a mere personal custom and could not alter the descent of inheritance. And all the lands of these Irish countries were adjudged to descend according to the course of the common law.

This resolution was not, our readers will understand, a decision or judgment of a court in a case pending before it, but rather an opinion of the judges, which was registered amongst the Acts of Council.[3] The proviso was added that if any of the *mere* Irish possessed and enjoyed any portion of land by the custom of *gavelkind* up to the commencement of the king's reign such person should not be disturbed in his possessions, but should be continued and established in it, but that afterwards all lands should be adjudged to descend according to the Common Law.[4]

The word gavelkind does not occur in the Brehon Law tracts, nor any word like it, nor is there any trace to be found in them of the "hotchpot custom" mentioned in the resolution; nor is there any evidence to be found outside the resolution to support the statements as to it therein contained. Hallam, Gardiner, and other careful and reliable historians were naturally misled by this report of Davis. The resolution, which was, probably, satisfactory to the Deputy, was based, so far as it had any basis, on the knowledge which the English lawyers and judges had of the custom of Kent, and, more particularly, of the custom in N. Wales, which is referred to in the resolution. Hallam refers to the "exact similarity" of the

[3] The Council Book is not known to exist at the present time.

[4] *Gavelkind.* The name implies that it was originally a tenure, by "gavel," *i.e.*, the payment of rent or other fixed services other than military. This agrees with the identification of it with *Socage, kind*=gecynd, kind or species. The application of the Kentish word to the Welsh and Irish system of succession led to the notion that the word was of Celtic origin, an alleged Irish *gabhail-cine* from *gabhail* taking, and *cine* tribe or sept, appears with the rendering *gavelkind* in O'Reilly's Dictionary. (Murray's Dic., *sub. voce.*)

custom of Irish *gavelkind* "to the rule of succession laid down in the ancient laws of Wales," and adds, "It seems impossible to conceive that these partitions were renewed on every death of one of the sept. But they are asserted to have taken place so frequently as to produce a continued change of possession."

In after times the custom of gavelkind was not only legalised but made compulsory in the case of the estates of Catholics by the statute 2 Anne, unless the eldest son conformed to Protestantism within a limited time after the death, in which case the estate went to him in course of primogeniture.

Another case, known as "the case of Tanistry," came before the Dublin court afterwards and is reported by Davis. It may be conveniently referred to here. The lawyers of that day misunderstood by tanist, the chieftain or lord of a country. The true meaning in Gaelic is second, *i.e.*, next to succeed. The case was an ejectment on the title to recover O'Callaghan's country in Cork. The general issue was pleaded and a special verdict found. The plaintiff claimed through a *tanist*, *i.e.*, chieftain, who was elected according to the Irish custom, which was found in the special verdict, to be as follows:—"That when any person died seized of the lands claimed then such lands ought to descend, and have time out of mind descended to the oldest and most worthy of the blood and name (seniori et dignissimo viro sanguinis et cognominis), of the person so dying seized, and that the daughters of such person were not inheritable." The judges held (1) That this custom was unreasonable and void, *ab initio*; (2) That it was void for uncertainty; it could not be reduced to certainty by any trial or proof, for the dignity (*i.e.*, worth) of a man lieth in the opinion of the multitude, which is the most uncertain thing in the world. Again, "the estate was uncertain. The *Tanist* hath not an estate of inheritance in his natural capacity, because the oldest and most worthy doth not take as heir, for the most worthy comes in by election, and not as heir, and the tanist hath not an inheritance by succession in a politic capacity because he is not incorporate by the common law as a person, etc., and if he hath only an estate for life it cannot descend, and so he hath no estate whereof the law can take notice."

This decision is not in conflict with the view we have presented that the ownership of the Tribal land was in the tribe who gave an estate for life only to the chieftain in the mensal lands.

Legally, it stands on a different footing from the resolution in the case of gavelkind. Here the court had seisin of a duly constituted cause, and declared a judgment which bound not only in the particular case, but was entitled to be followed in the administration of the law in every subsequent case of the same kind until it was reversed. The Resolution, on the contrary, lacking all these essentials, was nothing more than the private opinion of jurists formed without argument of counsel, and possibly with a view to political requirements without taking evidence, and probably on assumptions derived from the custom of Kent and the Cymric Codes—in fact, on those views which Davis says, as we shall see presently, that both he and the Chief Justice found on exact inquiry to be wholly erroneous.

In the summer of 1606 the judges went on circuit in Ulster, and afterwards Davis, who was then serjeant-at-law, went with the Chief Justice, Sir James Ley, to Waterford, Wexford, and Wicklow.[5] On his return he wrote to Salisbury (November 11th):—

> On our return we understood that not many days before the Earl of Tyrone had, in a violent manner, taken a great distress of cattle from O'Cahan (who hath married his bastard daughter), and pretended to be lord of all that country that beareth the name of Colraine (Derry). I mention this to you, not in respect of the riot, but to make an overture to you *of good advantage which I confess I understood not before I made my last journey into Ulster. I thought without question, and so it was generally conceived by us all, that the Earl of Tyrone had been entirely seized in possession and demesne of all the country of Tirone, being in length sixty miles and in breadth nearly thirty, and that no man had one foot of freehold in that country but himself, except the bishop and farmers of the abbey lands. . . But now on our last northern journey we made so exact an inquiry of the estates and possessions of the Irishery that it appeared unto us* (i.e., the Chief Justice and himself) *that the chief lords of every country had a seigniory consisting of certain rents and duties, and had, withal, some special demesne, and that the tenants or inferior inhabitants were not tenants-at-will, as the lords pretended, but freeholders, and had as good and large an estate in their tenancies as the lords in their seigniories, and that the uncertain cuttings and exactions were a mere usurpation and a wrong, and were taken de facto and not de jure when the lords made war one upon the other, or joined together in rebellion against the Crown. This we found to be universally and infallibly true in all the Irish countries in which we held assizes this last summer :—namely, in the several countries of McMahon, Magyre, O'Reilly in Ulster, and in the countries of the*

[5] *Ir. Cal.* II., 19.

Birnes (O'Birnes) and Cavanagh in Leinster. The suggestion is that these inferior freeholds were vested in the Crown by the Act of Attainder of Shane O'Neil (II. Eliz), and not regranted in the Queen's subsequent Patent to the Earl, and that I should be directed to prefer informations of intrusion against the occupiers of these lands with a view to a Plantation.

The villainy of this overture is appalling. Even if Davis was right in point of law, which we have no doubt he was not, a more dishonourable suggestion, considering the pardon and proclamation[6] and public declarations of the Deputy already mentioned, was never made by a law officer to a monarch. This was before the flight of the Earls, which took place on the 14th September, 1607.[7]

Ministers in London did not fall in with the overture of Davis; but no evidence is now forthcoming as to what reply was made to him. Possibly the matter was under consideration when the situation was completely changed by the flight of the Earls. We shall see presently how Davis changed his plans and fashioned his legal opinions to suit altered circumstances. The Earls fled on the 14th September, 1607, and about ten

[6] See the words of the Proclamation, ante.

[7] By the 11th Eliz., C. 1., S. 1. (the attainder of Shane O'Neill), it was enacted that Shane O'Neill should forfeit to her Majesty his lands and goods, and that his blood should be corrupt and disabled for ever. S. 2, made the use of the name O'Neill treason. S. 4 provided that whereas divers of the lords and captains of Ulster, as the septs of the O'Neills of Clandeboy, etc., the O'Hanlons, MacMahons, MacGuinnesses, etc., had been at the commandment of Shane O'Neill in his traitorous war, it was enacted that her Majesty should hold and possess, in the right of the Crown, the County of Tyrone, of Clandeboy, etc., and all the lands and tenements belonging or appertaining to any of the persons aforesaid, or to their kinsmen or adherents, in any of the countries, or territories, before specified. It is reasonably plain here that the only persons whose lands were escheated were Shane O'Neill's and the other persons named and their kinsmen and adherents, whatever construction might be put upon the words "kinsmen and adherents." Possibly in a penal statute they would be held void for uncertainty. After the Pardon, new Letters Patent were granted to the Lords of Countries, and Davis' proposition was to evict the under-tenants, and vest their interest *as freeholders* in the Crown, and then transfer these freeholds to Scotch and English planters, until which transfer the Crown would be under-tenant apparently to the Lords of Countries. Nowadays, we have no doubt the pardon, proclamation, and new Letters Patent would be held to re-establish all the interests. But we are far from saying that Davis did not take a sound working view of the question, as things stood in his time. The judges were then "removables." And Irish judges holding office during the King's pleasure would be slow to incur the displeasure of the King's Attorney-General for Ireland.

By the 12th Eliz., C. IV., S.I., it was provided that upon the offer of any "the pretended lords, gentlemen, or freeholders of the Irishrie, or degenerated men of English name holding their lands by Irish custom, and not by tenure, according to her Majesty's laws," the Lord Deputy might accept a surrender of their lands, and grant their lands to them by Letters Patent to hold of the Queen. By the 2nd Sec.—The rights of all persons in the surrendered lands are saved in the fullest and most explicit manner.

days before Christmas he went to Lifford to prosecute the Earls and their adherents on charges of high treason,

"The jury," he wrote, "were twenty-three gentlemen of the best quality and distinction in the county (Donegal), Sir Cahir O'Dogherty, who, next to the Earl of Tyrconnell, has the largest territory there, being foreman. Of the twenty-three jurors, thirteen were of the Irish nation and only ten English, in order that there might be no exception of partiality in compounding the jury. The Bills were read publicly in English and Irish, though that were needless and not usual in taking of indictments. It was explained that an indictment was an accusation and not a conviction." [8]

The flight of the Earls, if not explained, was persuasive *prima facie* evidence, and was, no doubt, pressed home forcibly by Davis. The King's Proclamation (November 15th, 1607) states: "We do profess that the only ground and motive of their high contempt in these men's departure hath been the private knowledge and terror of their own guiltiness" (p. 68). There were, however, other reasons for the flight. The earls fled, not because they meditated rebellion, which, under the circumstances, would have been sheer madness, but because neither

[8] A copy of the indictment subscribed "a true bill," with the names of the grand jurors attached, was sent by Davis to Salisbury (*Ir. Cal. II.*, 556). Amongst the thirteen Irish we find, besides Sir Cahir O'Doherty, the names of Donal M'Sweeny, of Fanad, and Donough M'Sweeny, of Banagh; John ua Clerigh (Kilbarron Castle), and Lowry (Lugaid ?) ua Clerigh, (of Ballyclerigh). Of the two latter, to whose kindred the writer belongs, we are in a position to say that they were treated as mere tenants-at-will, squatters, "having no English name or surname," and expelled from Donegal.

The project of Plantation of the six counties of Ulster provided that "the swordsmen were to be transplanted into such other parts of the kingdom as by means of the waste lands therein were fittest for to receive them—namely, into Connacht and some parts of Munster, where they are to be dispersed and not planted together in one place; and such swordsmen as have not followers or cattle of their own to be disposed of in his Majesty's service."—G. Hill, *Plant. of Ulster*, 96. All the "kindred" Clerigh who answered the description of swordsmen—we give this as a single instance to illustrate the procedure—were with their families evicted. They were allowed to take their cattle with them and went, driving them before them, to the borders of Limerick. There is, at the present day, in the barony of Kilnamanagh, a district called Foily Cleary (Clery's Rock), and we have no doubt they were transplanted into this district, which was then a mountainous waste. The "scholars" remained behind in their beloved Donegal, and took refuge in the mountains. The Chief of the Four Masters was known before joining one or both the Orders (first and third) of St. Francis (without, however, taking Orders) as Tadg an t-Sleibe (Tadg of the Mountains).

The author cannot speak here from immediate family traditions, as his father died when he was an infant. But when he was a boy, nearly fifty years ago, he heard these particulars from a worthy priest of his name and kindred, who said he had them from his grandfather. The final "g" of Clerig is aspirated, as in the North. In Munster the final "g" is not aspirated, but pronounced hard.

their liberty nor their lives were safe in Ireland. Even after their flight they were not safe from the poison or the dagger of the hired assassin. The evidence of this has recently come to light from the archives of Venice, and is to be found in the Calender of State Papers.

On May the 25th, Sir Henry Wotton, the English Ambassador in Venice, wrote to the Cabinet. After referring to the assassination of Henry IV. (May 14th, 1610), he observed:—

> I recollect that among the other officers whom her majesty sent to Ireland was Colonel Norris, a very brave gentleman. He desired to end the business as soon as possible, and, as it was impossible to come to a pitched battle with the Irish, whose habit is to strike and then fly into the dense forests, where they are safe, he thought the only way to finish up the matter quickly was to find some Irish and to offer them a reward if they would kill Tyrone, and so end the business. This was a good, just and laudable plan to secure the slaying of so great a rebel. But it was a notable fact that for all that he offered the greatest rewards he never could find a man who would slay the Earl. . . . There is not the smallest doubt that if the Colonel who promised ten thousand pounds sterling, and even more, to the man who should kill the Earl *and escape* had had authority to promise paradise on death the Earl would most assuredly not escape.[9]

It would be difficult, if not impossible, for the assassin to *escape* unless he used *poison*.

At the time of the flight of the Earls Sir Henry Wotton was the English ambassador at Venice. The fugitives proceeded through Flanders, Lorraine and Switzerland, by the St. Gothard pass to Milan. Wotton promptly conveyed the intelligence to King James, and soon after, under the signature Ottamo Baldi, wrote the letter of the 24th April, 1608[10]. In this he informs the King that an Italian, a Lombard, of middle age, well clothed and well fashioned, came to him four days previously and delivered to him a credential ticket which he encloses, and proposed on behalf of an unnamed person of spirit and understanding for such a business, to assassinate O'Neill. No names were to be asked until the proposal was accepted, which made Wotton "troubled and cautious." However he writes:—

> Next I told him that though the thing he proposed might, no doubt, be done very justly (the parties standing in actual proclaimed rebellion), yet it was somewhat questionable whether it might be done honourably,

[9] *Calendar of State Papers from Archives of Venice.* Vol. XI.—493, 68 (1904).
[10] *Irish Calendar.* Vol. II.—657 (1608-1610), (1904).

your majesty having not hitherto (for aught come to knowledge,) proceeded to the open proscription of them to destruction abroad, neither was it a course so familiar and frequent with us as in other states. I was ready to speak forward when he interrupted me, methought somewhat eagerly, saying that the gentleman who had sent him knew not *tante distintioni*. The sum and substance was this that if he might but be assured it would be well taken by your Majesty the thing should be done. And then for his conscience that would do it let his Majesty leave it to him (*Sua Maj. lasci far a lui*), just in the style, as I must confess, of a fellow that were fit for the purpose. I replied that since the point which he only or most required to know was how acceptable it would be, I would take the liberty to tell him mine own conceit that services of this kind unto princes were commonly most obligatory (*i.e.* obliging), when done without their knowledge, I understand you (*Intendo vos, signoria*) said he smilingly. I answered that he might peradventure understand me so (too?) far, and therefore with his leave I would explain that what I had said I meant not directly of your Majesty but of the general rules and affection of other princes in like cases.

The stranger refused to give his name, but left a note which Wotton received. It indicated:—

How he might hear from me addressing my letters to one in Mantua, his friend, without any superscription. As for my part, I have left him to the motions of his own will, and as your Majesty shall be further pleased to command me I will proceed in it,

Venice, 24th of April, 1608.

Nothing further is known at present about this nefarious business. No person was ever brought to trial for the alleged high treason. The whole proceeding was, in fact, a *lever de rideau* for the confiscation of the estates of the inhabitants in the various countries of the six counties,[11] and elsewhere, and for the pretence that the inferior tenants had no estate at all in their holdings, but were mere tenants-at-will or squatters. If they were freeholders their freeholds would not be destroyed by the treason of the lords of the countries. After the finding of the Bill the plan of confiscation, eviction, and plantation was considered and settled in all its parts, the king himself giving his gracious attention to the distribution of the plunder in equitable proportions between his Scotch and English subjects. The Deputy and the Attorney-General were to receive large grants as a matter of course. Davis got 5,500 acres, and Chichester the whole barony of Inishowen, the town of Dungannon, and a

[11] The Six Counties were Armagh, Tyrone, Derry, Donegal, Fermanagh and Cavan.

vast tract of land near Belfast, the last-mentioned, though not within the six counties, being, no doubt, confiscated land They were duly appointed, with others, Commissioners of Plantation for Ulster. Davis gives an account of their proceedings in a letter dated Sept. 24th, 1610, which should be read in conjunction with his letter printed above in italics to understand rightly the iniquity of his proceedings:—

We began at Cavan, where (as it falleth out on all matters of importance) we found the first access and entry into the business the most difficult, for the inhabitants of this county bordering upon Meath, and having many acquaintances and alliances with the gentlemen of the English Pale, *called themselves freeholders and pretended that they had estates of inheritance in their lands, which their chief lords could not forfeit by their attainder, whereas, in truth, they never had any estates according to the rules of the common law, but only a scrambling and transitory possession, as all other Irish natives within the kingdom.* When the proclamation was published touching their removal (which was done in the Public Session House, the Lord Deputy and the Commissioners being present), a lawyer of the Pale, retained by the inhabitants, endeavoured to maintain that they had estates of inheritance, and in their name desired two things—first, that they might be admitted to traverse the offices that had been found of those lords; secondly, that they might have the benefit of a proclamation made about five years since whereby their persons, lands, and goods were received into his Majesty's protection. To this, by my Lord Deputy's commandment, I made answer that it was manifest that they had no estate of inheritance, either in their chiefries or in their tenancies, for the chiefry never descended to the eldest son of the chieftain, but the strongest of the sept ever entered into it; neither had they any certain estates in their tenancies, though they seemed to run in a course of gavelkind, for the chief of the sept, once in two or three years, shuffled and changed their possessions by making a new partition amongst them, wherein the bastards had always their portions as well as the legitimate, and therefore the custom hath been adjudged void in law by the opinion of all the judges in the kingdom. Hereunto two other arguments were added to prove that they had no estates of inheritance. One, that they never esteemed lawful matrimony to the end that they might have lawful heirs; the other, that they never built any houses or planted any orchards or gardens or took any care of their posterities, as they would have done if they had had estates descendible to lawful heirs. These reasons answered both their petitions, for if they had no estate in law they could show no title, and without showing a title no man may be admitted to traverse an office; and, again, if they had no estate in the land which they possessed, the proclamation which received their lands into his Majesty's protection does not give them any better estate than they had before. Other arguments were used to show that his Majesty might justly dispose of those lands, as he has now done, *in law, in conscience,* and *in honour,* wherewith they seemed not unsatisfied in reason though in passion they remained ill-contented, being grieved

to leave their possessions to strangers which their septs had so long after the Irish manner enjoyed. Howbeit, the Lord Deputy mixed threats with entreaty, *precibusque minas regaliter addit*, and they promised to give way to the undertakers.

Untruths, it is said, are serviceable and highly prized—*dans la haute politique*.[12] On a lower plane, within the sphere of domestic politics, we disbelieve utterly in the utility of the *mensonge utile*. Official lying is at all times detestable, and is at best but a sorry substitute for intelligent and capable statesmanship. A day of reckoning comes sooner or later, followed in inexorable sequence by stern retribution. And surely fraud never comes in a more maddening guise than when the forms of justice are prostituted by its ministers to further unworthy policy and secure for themselves dishonourable gains. The delirium and deplorable massacre of 1641 was the outcome of this deplorable chicanery.[13]

[12] "If honesty will do, let us be honest; if duplicity is necessary, let us be rogues."—*Frederick the Great.*

[13] It would be a safe conjecture that the number of those slain in cold blood at the beginning of the rebellion could hardly have much exceeded four or five thousand, while about twice that number may have perished from ill-treatment. Gairdner, Vol. X, '69. Lecky, Vol. II, 153.

CHAPTER XVI.

THE LIA FAIL—THE STONE OF DESTINY.

AT the reception of the Faith the social organisation of Erin was, as we have seen, in the tribal stage of evolution. The line of Eremon had emerged from being *primus inter pares*, and was then predominant. It held Tara and Ailech, ruled in Connacht and in Leinster, and made alliance by marriage with Munster and Little Ulster. Everything seemed to point to the speedy fusion of the clans into a nation and the rise of a monarch or an imperator. A statesman like Louis XI., or Bismarck, would, undoubtedly, have effected the transformation. The physical conditions were eminently favourable for the establishment of a strong central government. The country was not divided by mountain ranges or other natural barriers into cantons, like Greece or Switzerland. Rivers, flowing south, north, east, and west, diverged, as it were, from a central point, and, unlike rivers, such as the Loire and the Rhone, flowed with an easy current, in a full channel. This was the result partly of the moderate elevation of the central plain (the area between Dublin and Galway not exceeding a height of 250 feet above the level of the sea), and partly of the existence of large areas of peat bogs and forests. These bogs acted as sponges, retaining the rainfall and distributing it gradually into the river beds, and prevented the excessive and disastrous floodings to which other river basins, such as that of the Loire, were subject. Nature had thus prepared safe and commodious highways for internal communication. The coast was provided with excellent harbours and landing places, which were, as we have seen, frequented by traders and dealers from foreign parts. During the first millennium of our era, according to the best guess we can make, the population never exceeded 850,000, which we would distribute roughly, thus—200,000 to Munster, *i.e.*, the two Munsters, 200,000 to Ulster, *i.e.*, the two Ulsters, and 150,000 each to Leinster, Meath, and Connacht.[1]

[1] The peat bogs occupy 1,772,450 acres, nearly one-ninth of the entire area of the country. They are antiseptic, and, unlike the fens and morasses in other lands, are not injurious to health, but rather the reverse. No malaria is found in

Within this central plain stood two famous hills—Uisneach and Tara. Uisneach was near the true centre of Erin, about nine miles west of Mullingar. It was, according to the legends, the oldest capital, if we may so call it. Afterwards Tara was preferred, and was selected by the Gael for the residence of the Ard-Righ.

Tara stood on the summit of a grassy slope, 500 feet over the sea level, 200 above the surrounding plain, 26 miles N.W. of Dublin, and 5½ miles S.E. of Navan, which is situated at the confluence of the Blackwater and the Boyne. It was on this hill that the high kings were inaugurated. In all the tribal elections of importance in Erin an inauguration stone was in common use. In other respects the ceremony varied in details.[2] This custom prevailed commonly among the Nordic nations. The kings of Sweden were inaugurated on the "great stone," still seen on the grave of Odin, near Upsala. "Seven stone seats for the emperor and his electors mark the spot where the Lahn joins the Rhine at Lahnstein." The Anglo-Saxon kings were crowned on the "King's Stone," near the Thames. The Lord of the Isles was inaugurated on such a stone. In Spenser's *View of Ireland* we find (p. 11)—

Eudox—Do they not use any ceremony at the election?

Iren—They used to place him that shall be their captaine upon a stone always reserved for that purpose, and placed commonly upon a hill, on some of which I have seen formed and engraven a foot, which they say was the measure of their first captaine's foot, whereon he, standing,

connection with them. As fuel they may become at some future time a valuable national asset. Reckoning them, however, for the present as waste lands, the total of such in Ireland is less in proportion than the waste lands of Great Britain. There is no reason to believe that at the time we speak of the forests prevented intercommunication. Large clearances are described in our texts from the remotest period. Fynes Moryson, who was Secretary to the Lord Deputy Mountjoy (1599-1603) says in his description of Ireland:—"In time of peace the Irish transport (export) good quantity of corn; yet they may not transport it without license lest upon any sudden rebellion the King's forces and his good subjects should want corn. Ulster and the western parts of Munster yield vast woods. But I confess myself to have been deceived in the common fame that all Ireland is woody, having found in my long journey from Armagh to Kinsale few or no woods by the way, excepting the great woods of Offaly, and some low, shrubby places which they call *glens*.—*History II.*, 370.

[2] At the inauguration of the O'Dowda.—The privilege of first drinking at the banquet was given by O'Dowda to O'Caemhain, and he was not to drink until he first presented it to the *file*, *i.e*, MacFirbis. The weapons, battle dress, and steed of O'Dowda after his nomination were given to O'Caemhain, and the weapons and battle dress of O'Caemhain to Mac Firbis. It was not lawful ever to nominate—that is, proclaim—O'Dowda until O'Caemhain and Mac Firbis pronounced the name and until Mac Firbis held the wand over the head of O'Dowda. After O'Caemhain and Mac Firbis every cleric and coarb and every chief of a district pronounced the name—*O'Dowda*. *Hy Fiachra*, 440.

takes an oath to preserve all the ancint former customs of the country inviolable and to deliver up the possession peaceably to his Tanist, and then hath a wand delivered to him by some whose proper office that is; after which, descending from the stone, he turneth himself round thrice forward and thrice backward.[3]

The legendary foundation of the High Kingship is traced back to the Firvolce. Slainge, the eldest brother, who took possession of the country from the Boyne to the meeting of the three rivers near Waterford, "was elected king over them by his four brothers and the Firvolce in general."[4] It was this entry, probably, that led Thierry to state that "there was in Erin a king superior to all the rest, who was called the great king, or the king of the country, and who was chosen by a general assembly of the chiefs of the different provinces, but this elective president of the national confederation swore to the whole nation the same oath which the chiefs of the tribes swore to their respective tribes, that of inviolably observing the ancient laws and hereditary customs."[5]

The statement that the Ard Righ was chosen by popular election of some sort by the provincial kings and under-kings and by the "estates of the realm" is found also in other writers. Within the historic period, unfortunately, no such mode of election is recorded in our texts.

From Laeghaire to Maelseachlann (429-1022) there were thirty-nine high kings, all of whom, except Brian Boru, were of the line of Eremon, and all, except Olioll Moll (a nephew) were descendants of Niall of the Nine Hostages. Niall's son, Crimthan, and his descendants number 16, Eogan and his descendants 13, Conal and his descendants 7, Laeghaire 1, and Cairbre 1[6]—total 38. How were these High Kings chosen?

The succession to the High Kingship in Erin was not hereditary, but selective. The Ard Righ was chosen from the royal stock, and the eligible candidates were styled *rig-domna*, *i.e.*, royal material. A successor was sometimes chosen in the lifetime of the reigning monarch. He was styled a Tanist (Tanaiste) = second, *i.e.*; next to *succeed*. The following genealogical table, which we have compiled partly from one carefully prepared with dates by M. D'Arbois, and partly from Reeves'

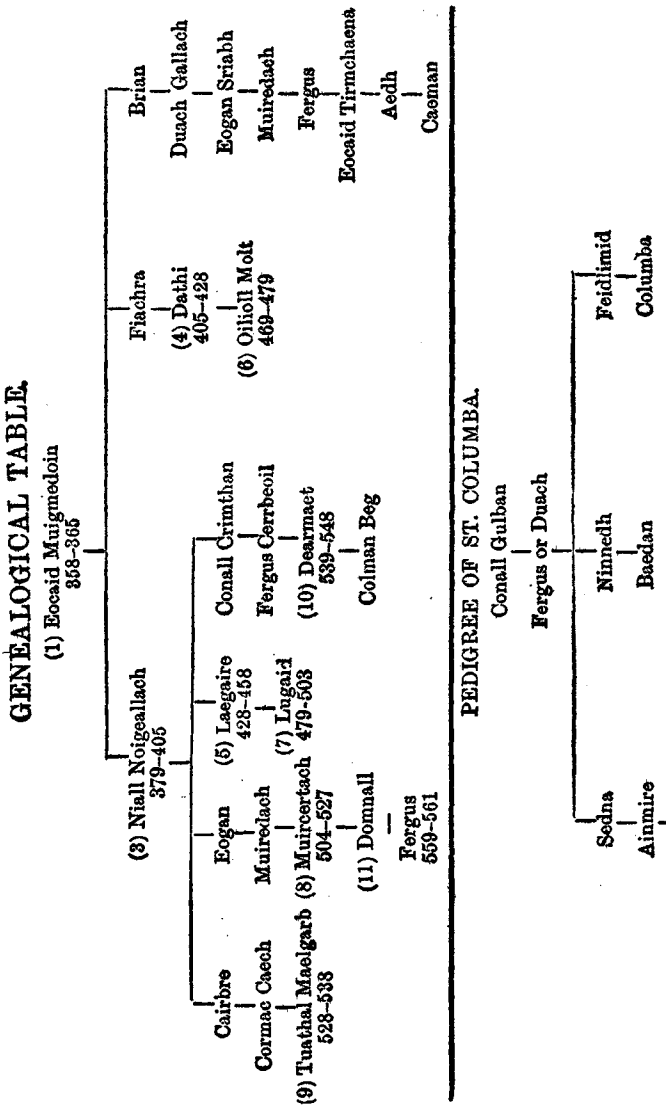
[3] And see O'Donovan's *Hy Fiachra*, 458, for interesting details, and Reeves *Adamnan*, 198.

[4] *F. M.*, 3266 A.M.

[5] *Norman Conquest*, II., 123.

[6] A list of the High Kings, with dates, will be found in the Appendix.

Adamnan, will be found useful in examining the course of selective succession of the kings for two centuries, and also for the pedigree and relationships of Saint Columba.[7]



An examination of this table of High Kings proves that the succession was not hereditary, but selective from the royal stock, and establishes, in our judgment, that where the

[7] *Rev. Celt.* XXII., p. 364, and Reeves' *Adamnan*, 251.

succession was peaceable, after the time of Niall of the Nine Hostages, the selection was made by the tribesmen, who are commonly referred to as the Ui Neill. There is no trace of federal election. The man who became chieftain of the Ui Neill took possession of Tara and the hostages, and the provincial kings had to submit to his authority. This was when the succession was peaceable. When there were rival candidates in the field the provincial kings had a very effective voice in the selection by joining forces with one or other of the rivals. But, as we have seen, up till the time of Brian Boru, no man outside the royal stock of the Ui Neill succeeded in reaching the High Kingship. "Maelseachlan (+1022) was the last King of Ireland of Irish blood that had a crown; yet there were seven kings after without crown before the coming in of the English." These were *Righ-go-fresabhraidh*, *i.e.*, kings with opposition, or, rather, under protest. "They were reputed to be absolute monarchies in this manner: If he were of Leah Cuin, or Con's halfe in Deale (*i.e.*, in quantity, or extent), and had one province of Leahmoye, or Moah's halfe in Deale at his command, he was counted to be of sufficient power to be King of Taragh, or Ireland; but if the party were of Leahmoye, if he could not command all Leahmoye and Taragh with the loppe (*i.e.*, the belt of country) hereunto belonging, and the province of Ulster or Connaught (if not both) he would not be sufficient to be king of all. Dermot McMoylenemoe could command, Leahmoye, Meath, and Connaught and Ulster, therefore by the judgment of all he was reputed sufficient monarch of the whole."[8] These are the observations, in all probability, of MacGeoghan himself, and not of the annalist, and must be understood to apply only to the period of the High Kings, "with opposition," out of which, under favourable circumstances, a central hereditary monarchy would, probably, have finally emerged.

We shall now examine the table of kings in some detail. Eocaid Muighmedoin left eight sons, who had issue, who became divided into the Northern Ui Neill (Eogan, Conall Cairbre, and Enda Find); and the Southern Ui Neill (Laeghaire, Crimthann, Fiachra, and Maine).[9] On the death of Crimthann,

[8] Murphy, S.J., *Annals of Clonmacnoise*, 176 and 171.

[9] Eocaid was, as already stated, succeeded by his brother-in-law, Crimthann, son of Fidach, of the royal family of Munster.

Niall, though the youngest son of Eocaid, and not born of the "one wife," but of a Saxon woman, succeeded peaceably. There is no mention of a *feis* or convention of provincial kings at the time, and it may, we think, be assumed that the election was by the Clanna Neill alone. He was succeeded peaceably by Dathi, son of his uncle, Fiachra. Again, there is no mention of any *feis* or convention. He was succeeded peaceably by Laeghaire. There was no *feis* or convention then, but in the 26th year of his reign Laeghaire celebrated the *feis* at Tara. He was succeeded peaceably by Olioll Moll, a son of Dathi. There was no *feis* or convention then, but Olioll held afterwards one, or, some say two, celebrations of the *feis* at Tara. After he had reigned twenty years Lugaid, the son of Laeghaire, claimed the throne, and formed a league with Fergus Cearbheal, son of Conal Crimthann, of the Northern Ui Neill, Muirchertach Mor Mac Erca, son of Muiredach, son of Eogan, of the Northern Ui Neill, and with Fiachra, son of the king of Dal-Aradia.[10]

A fierce battle was fought (478 A.D.) at Ocha, in Meath. Olioll was defeated and slain, and the supremacy of the Ui Neill was firmly established.[11] The King of Dal-Aradia was rewarded with territories on the east and the west of the River Bann. Lugaid then mounted the throne, and, after a reign of twenty-five years, was killed by lightning. He was succeeded peaceably by Muirchertach Mor Mac Erca, the grandson of Eogan. After a reign of twenty-four years Muirchertach was assassinated by Sen, daughter of Sighe, in revenge for her father, whom he had slain.

He was succeeded peaceably by Tuathal Maelgarbh, grandson of Cairbre, son of Niall. In his reign was fought the battle of Sligo (537) by Fergus and Domhnall, the sons of Muirchertach, and by Ainmire, the son of Sedna, and Anmidh, the son of Duach, and the Northern Ui Neill, against the Hy Fiachrach, in which the latter were routed, and Eogan Bel, who had been

[10] *Ann. Ulst.*, *F.M.*, A.D, 478, who add that Crimthann, King of Leinster, joined the League.

[11] The battle of Eiblin gained by Muirchertach, son of Erc, the battle of Magh Ailbe (Kildare) gained over Leinster, and the battle of Aidne over Connact, and the battles of Almhain and Cenneach over Leinster, and the plundering of Clia (Idrone Carlow) Tigernach.

Do bert ꝫialla ua néill la ꝫialla moiġe muṁan ceann eaclaḋ.

He bore away the hostages of the Hy Neill and the hostages of the Plains of Munster.

King of Connact for thirty-five years, was slain.[12] The victors in this battle were the warriors whom St. Columba is said by some, erroneously, as we hope to show, to have incited to fight the battle of Cul Dreimhne, a few miles north of Sligo, in 555. Fergus and Domhnall succeeded to the throne in 558 A.D. The battles of Ocha and Sligo were disastrous events, from a political point of view—victories gained by the Ui Neill over their near kinsmen of Connact, cutting off vigorous and spreading branches from the parent stock, dividing the race of Eremon into hostile camps and placing grave if not insurmountable difficulties in the way of fusing the Gael into a nation.

In addition to the tribal vote there was, in Pagan times, an electoral voice of decisive weight heard at the inauguration of the new king. We refer, of course, to the famous *Lia Fail* or Stone of Destiny.

According to the legend the Dedannans brought with them to Erin the sword and spear of Lug, the cauldron of the Dagda, and—most precious of all the treasures—the Enchanted Stone of the Sun, the *Lia Fail.*[13] Hence the island was in after times called *Innis Fail.* The stone used to shout under the King of Erin, saith the old duan quoted by Keating, *i.e.*, if he was the rightful king. It was prophesied that the Scots should hold sway wherever the stone should be found:

> Ni fallat fatum, Scoti quocumque locorum
> Invenient lapidem regnare tenentur ibidem.

What has become of the Stone of Destiny? One tradition is that it was taken to Scotland, that the Gaelic King there might be inaugurated upon it. The time of its removal cannot be exactly fixed. It was certainly after the death of Diarmaid mac Cerbhael, who died in 565 A.D. The view in the Ogygia, (p. 45), therefore seems plausible—that it was sent by Aedh Finliath, Ard-righ (861 to 877), to his father-in-law, Kenneth mac Alpin, when he defeated the Picts, A.D. 844.[14] He was

[12] Tuathal was assassinated (538) and peaceably succeeded by Diarmaid, son of Cerrbeoil, son of Crimthann, son of Niall. The assassin, Maelmor, was the son of the mother of Diarmaid. (*Tigernach.*)

[13] *Dolmens III.*, 1160—"There can be no doubt Fal was a sun-god."

[14] Flann of the monastery, ıſ é ceꝛ ꝛıꝫ ꝛoꝫab ꝛıꝫe ꝫcoınꝺe ꝺe ꝫaeꝺeliƀ.
In the seventh year of his reign Kenneth is said in the Scottish chronicle to have transferred relics of St. Columba to a church he had built near Scone. This was probably the final carrying out of the arrangement by which the supremacy of Iona was transferred in Erin to Kells, and in Scotland to Dunkeld.—*Skene*, I., 310.

the King of the Dal-riada of Alba, and after his victory united the territory of the Picts to his own, and marching to Scone, near Perth, was inaugurated there as the King "who possessed the kingdom of Scone of the Gael."

There is at this day (O'Flaherty writes) in the royal throne at Westminster a stone called Jacob's Stone. On this the kings of Ireland formerly took the omens of their investiture. There is an old tradition that it was called "fatal," because the princes used to try their fate on it. If it would make a noise under the king who sat on it, it was an infallible sign of his accession; if it was silent, it excluded him from any hope. Since the Incarnation of our blessed Lord it has produced no such oracle; and you can see in Eusebius' Book the delusive oracles that were silenced. The time that it came to the Scots of Britain from Erin cannot be ascertained; but if I may be allowed to conjecture, it was in the time of Kenneth, who conquered and subjected to the empire of the Scots the Pictish nation, and deposited that stone in the abbey at Scone, in the country of the Picts, when he transferred his palace, and it very probably was transmitted by Aed Finliath, the son-in-law of Kenneth, who was afterwards King of Ireland, as an auspicious omen.[15]

There is no reason to think that any of the northern Ui Neill went to Tara to be inaugurated after the time of Diarmaid, nor is there any evidence, so far as we are aware, that the stone was ever taken to Aileach for the coronation, and it would, we think, have been good policy on the part of the northern branch to disfranchise this supposititious elector altogether by sending him to reside permanently at Scone. Many, however, including Petrie, thought that the Stone of Destiny remained in Ireland, and was still in Tara of the Kings. He thought the pillar stone known as the *Bod Ferguis* was the Lia Fail.[16]

He relied mainly as his strongest proof on a poem by Kineth O'Hartigan, 985 A.D., who says:—

> The stone on which are my two heels
> From it is called Inis Fail.

It was at the side of the Mound of the Hostages that the celebrated

[15] *Ogygia* (Hely), 67.

[16] The following passage, an "inset" is found in the Irish Abridgment of the "Expugnatio Hiberniæ," translated from a fragment of a fifteenth century vellum by Whitley Stokes. *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, vol. xx., par. 571.

The King (H.II.), left Ireland and went to the city of St. David, and there happened to be on the north side of the church a stone, called the speaking stone, like unto the *Lia Fail* which is in Tara, 10 feet in length, 7 in breadth, and 1 foot in thickness. A dead body was brought to the stone and it spoke thereunder, and then it clove asunder, and that cleft is to be seen there still. Merlin prophesied that it should speak under him who should be king of Ireland. The king went to it, but it did not speak under him, and he was displeased, and was accusing Merlin.

coronation stone called the Lia Fail was located at the time of the writers already referred to, and it remained in the same situation till some years after 1798, when it was removed to its present position in the rath called *Forradh* to mark the grave of the rebels slain at Tara in that year. The Lia Fail is spoken of not only by those authorities but by all the ancient Irish writers, in such a manner as to leave no doubt that it remained in its original situation at the time that they wrote.

But other texts which are decisive the other way have since been found, *e.g.*, "It was the Tuatha Di Danan brought with them the great ꝼꞃꞇ, that is the Stone of Knowledge THAT WAS (ꞇꞇ ꞇꞇꞇ ꝼꞇꞇ ꝺꞇ ꝼꞇꞃ) ꝼꞇꞃ ꞇ Ꞇꞇꞇꞃꞇꞇꞅ, from which Magh Fal is, (*i.e.*, called) on Erin." *Book of Leinster*, page 9, col. a, line 13.

And, again, in the "Talk with the Old Men." "This, then, and the ꞇꞇꞇ ꝼꞇꞇꞇ *that was there* were the two *Wonders of Tara.* And Diarmait Mac Cerbheoil asks who was it that lifted that flag, or carried it away out of Erin?" Answer, "It was a young hero of great spirit who ruled over"—What followed is, unfortunately, wanting in all the MS.[17]

T. O. Russell has some pertinent and very judicious remarks on Petrie's views in his interesting notice of Tara:—

Another strong objection against the pillar-stone in Tara being the Lia Fail is its shape. The real Lia Fail was intended to be stood upon by the chief King at his inauguration; but the most flat-footed monarch that ever ruled Ireland would have considerable difficulty in standing steadily on the *Coirthe* in Tara, even if it were prostrate, for it is round and not flat. Judging from its height above the ground it cannot be much less than eight feet in length. *Lia* is always applied to a flag-stone, both in ancient and modern Gaelic. The stone under the coronation seat at Westminster is a real *lia* or flag-stone; the stone in Tara is a *Coirthe* or pillar-stone.[18]

The Lia Fail enclosed in the Coronation Chair at Westminster is of an oblong form, but irregular, measuring twenty-six inches in length, six three-quarter inches in breadth, and ten and a half inches in thickness.[19]

The ancient distich:

Ni fallat fatum Scoti quoquncque locorum
Invenient lapidem regnare tenentur ibidem,

is said to have been cut or engraven on the stone by command of Kenneth MacAlpin, but no trace of an inscription can be

[17] *Irishe Texte*, vol. 4, p. xiii. and p. 224 (Stokes' Acadamh na Senorach) *Silva Gaedelica*, S. H. O'Grady, vol. ii., p. 264.
[18] *Antiquities of Ireland.*
[19] We take these particulars from Neale's *Westminster Abbey*, p. 79.

found. If the verses were really engraved by King Kenneth's order, it is most likely to have been done either on the wooden chair, wherein he originally had the stone enclosed (but not any remains of which are known to be preserved), or, as is more probable, on a metal plate fastened to the upper surface of the stone; in which there is a rectangular groove or indent, measuring fourteen inches by nine inches, and from one-eighth to one-fourth of an inch in depth, as if purposely cut or roughly chiselled out for the fixing of the edge of such plate, either with cement or melted lead. There is likewise at one corner a small cross + slightly cut. It has at each end a circular iron handle affixed to the stone itself, so that it may be lifted up.

The Coronation Stone was examined in 1865 by Professor Ramsey, Director of the Geological Survey of England, and a small portion of it chemically tested at his request. His report will be found in the second edition (1868) of Stanley's *Memorials of Westminster Abbey*, p. 564. The effect of his report, which is too long to be given here, is that it came from some old red sandstone formation, such as is to be found at Scone and at Dunstaffnage, "but," he adds, "as there are plenty of red sand stones in Ireland (from which it is said to have been brought), it may be possible to prove precisely its origin." We think the fact of the local stone being old red stone is against the claim of Scone and Dunstaffnage. The maxim "ignotum pro mirifico," applies to stone as well as to other things.

A prophetic sandstone setting up to be able to discriminate between a true and a false king would have no honour in a country of such stones. The local stone at Tara is limestone, and an enchanted stone, coming from a far-away land, as the tradition ran, was bound to be something quite different.

Red sandstone is found in many regions; it is plentiful in the north of Spain, for instance, and if the *Lia Fail* had acquired a reputation there before the sons of the Soldior Golam left for Erin, they most likely carried it with them.[20]

[20] Robertson, J., wrote a letter to Dean Stanley on the subject of the Coronation Stone, which is printed in the second edition of his *Memorials*, p. 557. The Dean refers to it as an "additional proof of the extraordinary fulness and accuracy with which he met every question relating to Scottish history." Robertson points out, as against the view that the *Lia Fail* was brought to Alba by Fergus Mac Erc about 500 A.D., (1) that in the account of the inauguration of his successor Aidan (A.D. 574) the stone does not appear. The coronation was by Columba at Iona, and the account by his successor Cummin the Fair; (2) that Adamnan (Abbot, 679-704) gives an account of another coronation in which the stone is not mentioned (*Reeves*, p. 233). He suggests that the Coronation Stone was the pillow

There is no suggestion in Gaelic tradition that the enchanted stone disappeared in any other way, and there is no suggestion in the traditions of Alba that the stone was acquired in any other way. The tradition running with the custody of the stone in Alba, varying and inconsistent in detail, as is the way with such evidence, is uniform in this, that the stone was brought by the Gael from Erin to Alba and was finally placed at Scone by Kenneth MacAlpin. Baldred Bisset (1301, the earliest notice), Fordun, the Chronicon Rythmicum, Wyntoun, Scotichronicon, Blaud, Harvey, Bocce, all agree in this, and Skene, who made the Coronation Stone the subject of a special treatise, does not quote a single statement from any writer to the effect that the stone came from any other place. He relies on the discrepancies in detail, on the mythical character of the "early wanderings" of the stone with the Gael, and on the silence of some authors about it. For instance, he says neither Cummin the White nor Adamnan say anything about it when Columba "ordained" Aidan; throughout the whole description of the ordination there is not a single word about the Lia Fail. But why should there be? The ordination by Columba was not an "inauguration but a spiritual act." "In the words of ordination," writes Adamnan, "he prophesied the future for sons, grandsons, and great grandsons, and placing his (*i.e.*, Columba's) hand on his head, ordaining, blessed him."[21]

of St. Columba. A flagstone would not be suited for even a penitential pillow. We may be sure Columba's pillow was round, like the wooden pillows commonly used up till Tudor times.

[21] Martene thought—we may humbly add our view (though Bishop Reeves thought otherwise) that Martene thought rightly—that the mode of ordination was prescribed in the "liber vitreus" presented to Columba by the angel.—Reeves' *Adamnan*, 198.

The earliest notice we have, writes Bishop Reeves, of ecclesiastical interference in the confirmation of royalty in Ireland is found in the Annals of Ulster, A.D. 992, where it is recorded that the coarb of St. Patrick, ro erleg grád rig for Aod mac Domnaill i Fiadnice Samta Patraic (conferred the order of kingship on Aedh, the son of Domnall, in presence of the congregation of Patrick). This, however, was only the case of a provincial kingdom, probably the commencement of the practice.—*Adamnan*, 199.

Martene adds—"Sed in Ædani benedictione illud singulare occurrit quod non ab episcopo sed ab abbate fuerit ordinatus."—*De Antiq, Eccles.* II. 10.

CHAPTER XVII.

CUILDREIMHNE AND THE DESERTION OF TARA.

THE Northern Ui Neill having succeeded in vanquishing their Connact kinsmen at the battle of Ocha (487), soon after entered upon a struggle with the Southern branch. A brief account of the conflicts during this period is necessary in order to explain the true cause of the desertion of Tara, and, incidentally, the true cause of the battle of Cuildreimhne.

In 504 A.D. (499 F.M.) Muirchertach Mac Erca and the Northern Ui Neill defeated Duach Teangumha, King of Connact, at the battle of the Curlieu Hills. Duach had taken his brother Eocaid Tirmcharna prisoner against the guarantee and protection of Muirchertach, and this was the cause of this battle and two others against the Connact men. A certain woman caused it—Duiseach, the daughter of Duach, and wife of Muirchertach. She incited her husband to fight her father, because he had made a prisoner of her foster-father Eocaid against her husband's guarantee.

In 567 Baedan was slain in the battle of Leim-an-eich by Comain, the son of Coleman Beg, the son of Diarmaid, and Comain his cousin. At the instance of Coleman Beg they did the deed.

In 572 Aedh, son of Ainmire, fought the battle of Bealach-Feadha, in which fell Coleman Beg.

In 579 he fought the battle of Druim Mic Earca against the Cinel-Eogan, in which fell Colga, son of Domnall, the Ard Righ.

Aedh Slaine, son of Diarmaid, in 596 killed his nephew, Suibhne, the son of Coleman Beg, though forewarned by Columba not to be guilty of the "parracida." Aedh was slain by Suibhne, son of Conall, in A.D. 600.

In 597 Coleman Rimedh, joint king with Aedh Slaine, defeated Conall Cu, the son of Aedh, son of Ainmire, at Sleamhain in Meath.[1]

The battle of Sligo (543) was fought and won by the Northern Ui Neill and their allies over the men of Connact, and Eogan Bel was slain.

In 559 Fergus and Domnall, the sons of Muirchertach, and the Cinel-Eogain slew his successor, Olioll Indbann, at the battle of Cuil Conaire in Mayo.

In 561 was fought the celebrated battle of Cuildreimhne (Cooldrevna), a few miles north of Sligo, in which the Northern Ui Neill routed the Southern Ui Neill.

A perusal of this formidable list is sufficient to prove that it is not necessary to look outside the perpetual hostility that raged between the Northern and Southern Ui Neill for the

[1] *Adamnan*, p. 14.—Reeves.

causes of the battle of Cuildreimhne. However, it so happened that about this time St. Columba set out for the evangelization of the Picts, and a popular legend has connected his name with the battle, and assigned his share in bringing it about as the cause of his leaving Erin. The Four Masters have the following entry at 555. The true date is 561 A.D.:—

The battle of Cuildreimhne was gained against Diarmaid, son of Cearball (Southern Ui Neill), by Fergus and Domnall, the two sons of Muirchertach, son of Erca,[2] by Ainmire, the son of Sedna, and by Ninnidh, the son of Duach, and by Aedh, the son of Eocaid Tirmcharna, King of Connact. It was in revenge for the killing of Curnan, son of Aedh, son of Tirmcharna, while under the protection of Columcille, that the Clanna-Neill of the North and the Connact men gave this battle of Cuildreimhne to King Diarmaid; and also on account of the sentence which Diarmaid passed against Colum-cille about a book of Finnen, when they left it to the award of Diarmaid, who pronounced the celebrated decision—"To every cow belongs its calf," etc.

Columba was also in after times accused of having caused two other battles, the battle of Culrathain, by his contention with Comgall for a church near Ross Torathair, and the battle of Cuil Feadha against Colman, the son of King Diarmaid, in revenge for his having been outraged in the case of Baedan, the son of Ninnidh, King of Erin, who was killed by Colman at Leim-an-eich, in violation of the protection (coimeirge) of Columcille.[3] A legend was put in circulation in after time that it was as a penance for these misdeeds, either voluntary, or imposed by St. Molaise, of Devenish, that St. Columba went into exile to Iona, and carried the Gospel to the Picts, "to win," said St. Molaise, "as many souls for Christ as had been lost in these battles." As regards the two last mentioned battles, Bishop Reeves has proved that they took place after his departure for Iona—one as long as twenty-four years afterwards. He suggests, it is true, a possible transposition of dates; but this appears to us too conjectural. We shall therefore confine our attention to Cuildreimhne. The Annals of Ulster and Tigernach, giving no details, state that the battle was won through the prayer of Columba—*per orationem Columcille*. The so-called prayer (the Four Masters do not call it a prayer) is given by them and by Tigernach. It represents Columba as being seemingly an on-looker at the battle, and saying or praying:—

[2] See genealogical table at p. 169.
[3] See Reeves' *Adamnan*, 247, for full details.

"O God, why keepest Thou not the mist off from us, if perchance we may reckon the number of the host, (the mist) that deprives us of judgment. The host that marches round a cairn. 'Tis a son of the storm that betrays them (*i.e.*, the Southern Ui Neill.) He is my Druid who denies me not. The Son of God it is who will work with me. Beautiful it makes the onset, Baetan's[4] steed before the host, it seems good to Baetan of the yellow hair; it will bear its burden upon it."

There is not much devotional fervour in this so-called prayer, and if it was the only help Columba gave, he got credit for the victory very easily. This is the poetry of the battle. The prose, which we now proceed to give from Tigernach, is more reliable. "Fraechàn, the son of Teniusan, 'tis he that made the 'Druid's fence' for Diarmaid. Tuatàn, the son of Dimman, son of Saràn, son of Cormac, son of Eogan, 'tis he that *overturned* the 'Druid's fence.' Maglamde went across it, and he alone was slain." So far Tigernach. The Four Masters add:—"Three thousand was the number that fell of Diarmaid's people. One man only fell on the other side, Maglaim was his name, for it was he that passed beyond the Druid's fence (Erbe n-druad)."[5] We suppose this means that he went across the Druid's fence into the mist, and was slain. The honours of the day clearly rested with the wizard, Tuatàn, the son of Dimman.

Another cause assigned for Columba's rousing his kinsmen to fight at Cuildreimhne was that his protection had been violated by King Diarmaid. Curnan, son of Aedh, King of Connact, attended the Feis of Tara in 560, and was guilty of homicide within the precinct. He fled. Keating, following the account in the "Aeded Diarmata," says he fled to the protection of the sons of Muirchertach MacErca, *i.e.*, Domhnall and Fergus, and to the protection of Columba. Tigernach says nothing of the protection of Fergus and Domhnall, but simply records

[4] Baetan was the third son of Muirchertach Mor mac Erca, and afterwards became Ard Righ. And the above appears to us to be an extract from a praise poem on him after he became, and whilst he was, Ard Righ. Columba is supposed to be looking on, and says the son of the wind betrays them by blowing away the mist, betraying the men who go round the cairn. The words in brackets are ours. The words "the host" in the third line should, we suggest, be "the mist." We offer this view, of course, with great diffidence. For praise poem see *Annals of Ulster*, A.D. 562.

[5] Tigernach, *Rev. Celt.* xvii., 144. O'Donovan, and also Hennessy and Todd, miss the correct translation of Tuaṫan a ṙe ṙo la ind eiṙbe n-druaḋ daṙ a cend. It means overturned. So Stokes and Windisch *sub voce*. O'Donovan has "*placed* the Erbe Druadh over his (*i.e.*, Diarmaid's) head." Hennessy is equally at fault. He translates, "Tuathan it was that threw overhead the Druid's Erbe."—*Ann. Ulst.*

the "death of Curnan, son of Aedh, son of Tirmcharna, by Diarmait, son of Cerball, while under Colm-Cille's protection ar Comairce); and this is one of the causes of the battle of Cuildreimhne."[6] The Four Masters say Carnán was put to death in violation of the *guarantee* and protection of Columba (Tar slánaiḃ 7 comairge Colaim Cille.) The words "violation of protection" appear to be used in two senses. Firstly, they mean the violation of an express guarantee, *e.g.*, when Fergus MacRoigh gave a guarantee to Naoise that Concobar would keep his promise not to injure him, etc. And, secondly, they appear to be used to mean the violation of a right of sanctuary where there has been no agreement express or implied. Tigernach appears to refer to this right of sanctuary, but the Four Masters, seeing, perhaps, the difficulty of sustaining an *ambulatory* right of sanctuary—a right not attached to a particular place, but to the person of the protector—add that Columba had given a guarantee of safe conduct to Curnan. Why? We are not aware of any ecclesiastical authority to sustain the existence of an ambulatory right of sanctuary. So far as we know the right of asylum in pagan times and the right of sanctuary in Christian times was always attached to some church, shrine, enclosure, or place.

The innocence of Columba, it is further stated, was attested by a miracle. This, as Adamnan tells us, occurred at a synod which was held at Tailtin—in the year after the battle according to the generally received view.

> For, after the lapse of many seasons, when St. Columba was excommunicated by a certain synod for some venial, and so far excusable matters, not rightly, as afterwards became clear, at the last he came to the same assembly that had been gathered against himself. And when St. Brendan, of Birr, saw him approaching he quickly rose and, with face bowed down, reverently kissed him. The seniors remonstrated, and asked why he did not decline to rise before, and kiss an excommunicated person. "I have seen," said Brendan, "a very luminous column of fiery hair going before the man of God whom ye despise, and also holy angels the companions of his walk through the field. Therefore I dare not slight this man, whom I see to be foreordained by God to be the leader of the people unto life." When he had thus spoken, not only did they desist, but they even honoured him with great veneration. This thing was done at Tailte (Tailtin).[7]

[6] Keating, Text and Translation, Reeves' *Adamnan*, 248. *Rev. Celt*, 17, 141.
[7] *Adamnan*, III. c. 3., abridged.

There was thus, in fact, no sentence of excommunication fulminated at all. Assuming that at first the synod held Columba guilty of bellicose irregularities, which Adamnan and every cleric of his time would consider venial enough, at the same sitting, on further reconsideration, they returned a verdict of acquittal, which we see no reason for disturbing. The action of the synod, based, as no doubt it was, on the personal protestation of St. Columba, ought to have set the matter at rest for ever, especially as the Northern Ui Neill did not, either before or afterwards, require any ecclesiastical stimulus to set them moving on the war-path against their southern kinsmen. This view is supported by Columba's action at the celebrated Convention of Drumceat, as to which there is no dispute. It took place in 575. The precise spot where the assembly was held is the long mound in Roe Park, near Limavady, called the Mullagh and sometimes Daisy Hill. It was held there, partly for the convenience of King Aedh, but more especially because it was the patrimonial territory of his family.[8] Sedna, the grandfather of Aedh, and Feidilim, were brothers, being sons of Conall Gulban, so Columba came there as a peace-maker, not to provoke but to prevent fratricidal war between the Gael of Erin and their brethren and kinsmen in Alba. As early as the third century, according to our texts, there was a settlement of the Gael in Alba under Cairbre Riada, son of Conaire, son of Mogh Lamha of Munster. A great famine came upon Munster, and Cairbre led a party of his tribe to the north of Antrim and another to Alba, where, Bede tells us, by agreement or force of arms they obtained a settlement amongst the Picts, and were called, from their leader, Dalriadini, *i.e.*, Dalriada. Three centuries afterwards this colony was reinforced or absorbed by a fresh immigration of the Gael under the sons of Erc—Fergus, Ængus, and Loarn—who took possession of a large territory there. Fergus Mac Erc became their chieftain. From this Fergus, antiquaries assure us, descended the royal line of Scotland and the English monarchs from the time of James the First. In 574 Aidan, the son of Gabhran, succeeded to the lordship (τοιεαċ) of the Gael of Alba, or, as it came to be styled, Little Scotia, and, as we have stated, was "ordained" by Columba when he took

[8] Reeves' *Adamnan*, 37.

the title of king. At this ceremony Columba admonished him by "prophecy" never unrighteously to go against the kindred in Erin.[9]

Aidan, instead of remaining the chieftain of a dependent colony, now claimed to be an independent sovereign, while the High King of Erin appears to have demanded tribute, and possibly hostages, from him. This was the principal cause which induced Columba to go to the Convention at Drumceat

> That Congress had three aims in view,
> His crown from Scanlan Mor to wrest,
> On Riada's tribes a rent to place
> From Erin's land her bards to drive.

The bards were in danger, it is said, of expulsion from Erin on three occasions. Their "pot of covetousness" (coire rainti) had made them odious to the people. Their demands were exorbitant, and their numbers excessive. On two previous occasions they had escaped through the favour and support of the Northern Ui Neill, and, on this occasion, they found an advocate in Columba the Peacemaker, and were "reformed." Their numbers were reduced, and certain lands were assigned to them in various quarters, in return for which they were required to open schools, and teach gratuitously. The particulars of this reform are given in detail by Keating, and in the introduction to the *Amhra* of Columcille. The bardic schools then established flourished, with scarcely a break, down to the 17th century.

The Scanlan referred to was lord of Ossory, and was held in bonds by Aedh for refusing to pay the customary tribute (there are, as usual, variants of the story). He was released through the interference of Columba. The territory of Ossory was co-extensive with the present diocese; it stretched from Slievebloom to the meeting of the three waters, near Waterford. According to the *Book of Rights*, the chieftain of Ossory was entitled to receive from the Ard-Righ a gift (cuairtail) of thirty steeds, thirty coats of mail, and forty swords. This free gift, we assume, was in the nature of a "retainer," and repre-

[9] "The service rendered by Columba on this occasion was productive of reciprocal advantage, for while it conferred the sanction of religion on the questionable title of Aidan it secured to the Abbot of Hy a prescriptive supremacy in the politico-religious administration of Dalriada."—Reeves' *Adamnan*, 198.

sented the primitive gift of cows, which formed the bond between over and under lordships. The *Book of Rights* states that when the King of Cashel was not Ard-Righ no tribute was due to him from Ossory. When the King of Cashel was Ard-Righ it states, he was entitled (1) to rents (cáṁa) or tributes from specified territories in Tipperary, Kerry, Clare, and Waterford. Ossory is not included. The amount of this tribute is given in great detail for the specified territories, ranging from a thousand cows, oxen, rams, and mantles from Burren, to two thousand hogs and a thousand cows from the Deisi of Waterford. He was also entitled (2) to *visitation* and *refection* [a cuairt 7 a beatha forṁa] from the King of Cruachan (Connacht) for two quarters of a year, and to accompany him to Tir-Conaill, in return for a free gift of one hundred drinking horns, one hundred swords, one hundred steeds, and one hundred tunics. And so with the Kings of Tir Conall, Tir Eogain, the Lord of Tullahogue, and the Kings of Oirghialla, Ulidia, Tara and Ath Cliath. We do not attach very great importance to the *Book of Rights*. It was evidently composed or thoroughly recast about the time of Cormac mac Cuilenainn, and is intended to magnify and exalt Cashel in a secular and religious point of view. Whatever value the book may have as regards the provincial kings, as regards the Ard-Righ it seems to indicate that, at any rate in times of peace, he had no rights except the right of Visitation and Refection. But the frequent raids made by the Ard-Righ not only to lift the boroṁa but to enforce tribute from every part of Erin, plainly show that, whatever his rights may have been, his claims were much more extensive.

The most important question at the Convention, however, was the boroṁa on Alba. After Columba came to the Congress, and the matter was debated, he was requested to decide between the men of Erin and the men of Alba. "It is not I who will decide," said he, "but yonder youth," pointing to Coleman. Coleman then gave judgment; and the decision he gave was, "Their expeditions and hostings to be with the men of Erin always, for hostings always belong to the parent stock. Their tributes and games and shipping to be with the men of Alba."

Colgan tells us that, in memory of the friendly settlement between the two kindreds, and the blessing of peace which it secured, an annual celebration and public procession of thanks-

giving was held every year at Drumceat down to his time (1646).[10]

A good story, with a spice of legal trickery or sharp practice in it, was evidently greatly relished in the Scriptorium and the cloisters. As such stories are frequently quoted as evidence of historical events, our readers may appraise their value from the following samples, which we give in the order of time: When Lugaid MacCon was King of Tara, his wife had a plot of *glaishin* as part of her separate estate. This *glaishin* was a blue dying stuff or woad. It was a valuable crop, requiring great care and watching during growth. A neighbour's sheep trespassed and ate up the queen's *glaishin*. The queen sued the trespasser before the king, who awarded the sheep for the damage. "No," protested the youthful Cormac MacArt, who was the rightful king, and present in disguise, "the fleece is enough; the wool for the woad, for both will grow again." "A true judgment," exclaimed the bystanders. "He is surely the son of a king." Cormac regained his throne by his bad law-point. The second story is the cow-book and the calf-book judgment, which is equally meritorious :—St. Finnen, of Moville, objected [why ?] to a copy being made of his Psalter or Gospel. Columba borrowed the book and copied it furtively, in his church, with the aid of miraculous light, in the night-time. Finnen claimed the copy. It was left to the award of King Diarmaid. He gave judgment against Columba, saying :—"*Le gach boin a boinin, acus le gach leabhar a leabhran*—To every cow her calf, to every (cow) book the (calf) book (belongeth)."[11] And this was one of the causes of the battle of Cuildreimhne ! ! The third story relates to the ruse by which St. Moling is stated, in a historical romance called the "*Boromha Laigen*," to have obtained the remission of this odious tax from Finnachta Fleadach. The word "Luan" in Gaelic means *Monday*, and also the Day of Judgment. The sequel may be easily guessed. The Saint induced Finnachta to remit the tax till *Luan*, which he then successfully maintained meant the day of Judgment, though the monarch intended the words to mean till Monday. "It would be better," said an unconscious humourist, in the *Dublin University Magazine*, "for the people of Leinster to have continued to pay the *Boromha* tribute to this day than

[10] The story of the penance was, of course, not forgotten. Columba was bound never to see Erin again. How was this to be got over ? He came, we are asked to believe, to Erin with a bandage over his eyes; went bandaged to the convention, and never removed it until he got back to Iona ! ! !—Reeves' *Adamnan*, 92.

[11] Legend says the fragment of the psalter preserved in an antique metal casket, known as the *Cathach* or *Battler*, is the actual copy, and that, notwithstanding the judgment of the king, it remained with Columba.—See Gilbert facsimile MSS., viii., and plates iii. and iv.

that this St. Moling should have set an example of clerical special pleading and mental reservation in the equivocation by which he is represented to have procured the release from that impost."[12]

The battle of Cuildreimhne would have been fought if Columba had never existed, and the desertion of Tara can be accounted for without praying in aid the bells and curses of St. Ruadhan. Tara occupied a central position in the province of Meath. This district was in the exclusive occupation of the Southern Ui Neill. When Diarmaid was assassinated, Fergus and Domnhall, his successors, were residing at Aileach, near Derry. Is it likely that they would come with their households, and reside at Tara, in the midst of their rivals and enemies? Certainly not. They would not have been safe without or within the ramparts of Tara itself. On the other hand, the occupation of Tara carried with it, in the minds of the Gael, historic and superstitious associations. The chieftain residing there would appear to be in visible ownership of the supreme power. Consequently, when Fergus and Domnhall decided to remain at Aileach, they determined not to allow the Southern Ui Neill to occupy it, and it was plainly for that reason that Tara was dismantled and abandoned, and the Lia Fail sent out of Erin. If these weighty reasons did not exist we may be certain that the Northern Ui Neill would not be terrified or influenced by the belligerent curses and bells of a cleric belonging to the race of Olioll Olum.[13] A cleric of the Northern branch would promptly and effectually, by suitable prayer of reconciliation and purification, have cleansed the precincts of the venerated Hill. The legend of St. Rhuadan is not found in the Annals of Ulster, Tigernach, or the Four Masters. It is embodied very fully as an "inset" taken from some *ursgeul* in our opinion, in *MacGeoghan's Translation of the Annals of Clonmacnoise*,[14] from which we quote. It is found substantially the same in the *Book of Lismore* and in an Irish MS. in Trinity College, in a fifteenth century vellum in the British Museum, which professes to copy from the *Book of Sligo*, &c., &c. The nature of this *ursgeul*,

[12] See O'Donovan's Note, F. M. and O'Mahony, 306. The Ard Righ could not according to the Brehon Law Tracts, as we have shown, *ante* cxiv., remit food rents or, we assume, the cow rent, *boroma*, so as to bind his successors who made frequent hostings to lift it.

[13] "The cause of the extinction of the regality of Tara was the fasting of Patrick and his *muinter* against Laoghaire, the son of Niall, and the fasting of Ruadhan of Lorrha, the son of Aengus, with the saints of Erin, against Diarmaid, the son of Cearbhall, and against the four tribes of Tara; and these saints promised (*i.e.*, predicted) that there should not be a (royal) house at Tara, of the race of Laoghaire, or of the seed of Niall, (but) that there should be of the race of Olioll Olum." O'Donovan adds in a note—"There is no authority for this promise or prediction of the saints in any of the lives of St. Patrick, or even in that of Rodanus, who was himself of the race of Olioll Olum."—Leabar na gCeart, 53.

[14] Murphy, S.J., *Annals of Clonmacnoise*, p. 85 (condensed).

which is too long to be given here, may be gathered from the opening sentences.[15]

King Dermott, to make manifest unto his subjects his magnificence, appointed a sergeant named Buckleare, with a speare, to travel through the kingdom with power to break such doors of the nobilities as he should find narrow in such a manner as the speare could not enter into the house thwartwayes or in the breadth of the doors. Buckleare made his way, speare in hand, to the house of Aedh Guaire of Killfechan in Connact. Guaire gave a stroke of his sword to the spearman and took his head off him. This Guaire was half-brother to St. Ruadhan of Lothra in Upper Ormond, Tipperary, to whom he fled for protection after beheading the king's sergeant. The saint made a hole in the floor of his hut and put Guaire into it. When Diarmaid arrived, Ruadhan being enquired of the place where Guaire was would not lie but tell the truth, as was his custom. The king saluted him with bitter and pinching words, saying that it did not belong to one of his coat to shelter and keep in his house a man who had killed the king's sergeant, who was employed in the execution of his instructions, and prayed that there might be no abbot or monk to succeed him in his place at Lothra. "By God's grace," said Roadanus, "there shall be abbots and monks for ever, and there shall be no king dwelling in Tara from henceforward." The king asked where Guaire was. "I know not," said Roadanus, "unless if he be not where you stand;" for so he was indeed right under the king's feet. The king afterwards had suspicions, searched, found Guaire, and took him prisoner to Tara. Roadanus followed him, and on his refusing to release Guaire Roadanus and a bishop that was with him took their bells, which they rung hardly, and cursed the king and place, and prayed God that no king or queen ever after would or could dwell in Tara, and that it should be waste for ever, without court or palace, as it fell out accordingly. The conclusion is curious and deserves attention:—"Roadanus being refused, tendered a ransom of thirty horses, which the king was contented to accept, and so granted him Aedh Guaire."

Thus the quarrel ended. The curses were, no doubt, revoked, the bells silenced, and peace made on the basis of the *status quo ante bellum*.[16]

[15] Numerous entries in our annals show that curses and bells had very little influence in preventing outrages on ecclesiastical privileges and sanctuaries. For instance, St. Carthach was expelled from Rahan, near Tullamore, in 636 by the Southern Ui Neill, the only offence of the venerable abbot apparently being that he did not belong to their own clan. And one *Muinter* sometimes fought against another; while priests, even after they were released from compulsory attendance in hostings, still occasionally joined in the fray.

[16] The issue of disputes of this kind was not always so satisfactory. Witness the following (*Four Masters*, 1043):—"The fasting of the clergy of Ciaran at Tealach-Garbha (Tullangarvey) against Aedh Ua Comfeaela, lord of Teffia, and Bearnain Ciaran (Ciaran's gapped bell) was rung with the end of the Bachall Isa against him; and in the place where Aedh turned his back on the clergy, in that very place he was beheaded before the end of the month by Muirchertach Ua Maelseachlainn."

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE NORTHMEN.

THE expulsion of St. Carthach [1] from Rahan took place in the reign of Domhnall, son of Aedh, son of Ainmire, by whom was fought (637) a famous battle at a place called Magh Rath in the county of Down, which, if not the place now called Moira in the north-east of the county, was somewhere in the vicinity of Newry. Suibhne Meann, Domhnall's predecessor and kinsman, had been slain by Congal, and Domhnall, shortly after his accession, attacked Congal, defeated him, and compelled him to take refuge with his uncle in Alba.[2] After the lapse of seven years Congal returned with an army of Britons, Saxons, Gail-Gael, and Picts from Scotland and landed in Down to fight for Little Ulster and, if fortune favoured him, for Greater Ulster also, for he was descended from Conal Cearnach, the renowned champion of the Red Branch Knights, and claimed to be entitled to the whole territory ruled over by Conchobar Mac Nessa. In the poem which begins with the lines "How bravely Congal's host comes on," and which is given in full in a historical romance on the battle and quoted by Keating, we are told:—

> A yellow lion upon green satin,
> The standard of the Red Branch Knights,
> As borne by the noble Conchobar,
> Is now by Congal borne aloft.[3]

This was the ancient flag of Ulster and of Erin when the Clanna Rury were predominant and ruled at Tara. It has been superseded in modern times by the harp. The lion is now claimed by England, but the animals depicted in the English escutcheon are said by many to be *leopards*. The

[1] The original name is said to have been "Cuda," and "Mo" was prefixed for respect, hence Mochuda. He was, it is said, called Carthach after his master.
[2] Reeves' *Adamnan*, 200.
[3] "Cath Muighe Rath," 329.

lion would appear, in any case, to belong by priority of use to the men of Erin. The fortune of war, however, went against Congal. After an obstinate struggle, which the bardic accounts say lasted six days, Congal and his allies were routed with red slaughter, and Congal himself fell in the "counter-blow of the fight."

In the interval which elapsed between the battle of Magh Rath (637) and 795, when the Norsemen first appeared, there were the usual wars between chieftains and kings, which occurred in every community where there was no strong central authority. We shall not weary our readers with an enumeration of them. Their monotonous futility has little interest for the historian.

The Scandinavian invasion, if it can be properly so called, may be conveniently divided into two periods—(1) from 795 to the coming of the Dubh- Gaill and of Olaf the White in 845, and (2) from 845 to the battle of Clontarf in 1014. During the first period, as in France and Britain, the invasion took the form of raids for plunder by separate bands, and often simultaneously at distant points. These raids seldom went far inland, and did not interfere materially with the internal warfare, which proceeded with much vigour, as usual, between the native chieftains. In order to show more clearly the true nature of the invasion of the Northmen we deem it necessary to summarise in considerable detail the account of their raids as we find them recorded in our Annals. Our readers may, perhaps, find these particulars wearisome, but there is no royal road to truth in the matter.

In 795 Rathlin or Lambay was raided; in 798 Innis Patrick, *i.e.*, Holm Peel, Isle of Man; in 807 Innishmurray, off Sligo, and part of Roscommon; in 803 and 806 Iona, when twenty-six monks were slain; in 812 Connemara, when the Northmen were defeated in Mayo; in 813 Mayo, when they defeated the men of Mayo; in 819 Howth, and the islands at the mouth of Wexford Harbour; in 820 Cork and Cape Clear; in 821 Bangor; in 822 Downpatrick, the invaders defeated the "Osraige," but were defeated by the Ulidians in the same year; in 823 the hermit, Etgal, was carried off from Skelig Michil, and died from hunger and thirst; in 824 Lusk and Meath; in 825 Dun Lagen, near Glendalough; in 826 Wexford; in 828 Dunleer and Clonmore in Louth; in 831 Muirtheimne, in

Louth, and Maelbrighte, the King, taken captive with his brother, and carried off to the ships. A battle was gained over the "Muintir" of Armagh, and a great number of them taken captive. In 831 took place the first plundering of Armagh, thrice in one month. The Ui-Meith Macha, Mucknoe, Donaghmoyne, and other churches in Monaghan and Louth, Maghera in Derry, and Connor in Antrim, were raided. In 832, the first year of Niall Caille, a great slaughter was made of the foreigners at Derry; Clondalkin was plundered by the foreigners Lismore was burned, Dromeskin (Louth), Loughbrickland (Down) were raided. Separate bands of raiders must have been at work.[4]

In 833 the foreigners were defeated in Coshma (Limerick) by the Ui Fidhgeinte. Glendaloch, Slane, and Fennor were raided, and the greater part of Clonmacnoise was burned. In 844 Ferns and Clonmore were raided. Mungret, near Limerick, and other churches, were burned. In 835, Kildare, Louth, Bregia (N. Dublin) and Durrow were plundered. In 836 there was most cruel devastation of Connact, and a battle-slaughter of the Deisi. In 837 there were sixty ships on the Boyne, sixty on the Liffey, and these fleets plundered and spoiled the plain of the Liffey and East Meath, "both churches and habitations of men, and goodly tribes of flocks and herds." A battle was gained at Inver-na-mbarc, near Bray, over the Southern Ui Neill from the Shannon to the sea, "where such slaughter was made as never was heard of." However, the kings and chieftains escaped. The churches of L. Erne, Clones, Devenish, Freshford, Kilkenny, Inis Caltra, Ballylongford (Kerry), and Bealach Abhra (Cork) were destroyed. A slaughter was made of the foreigners at Eas Ruadh, at Carn Feradaigh (Limerick), and at Fearta Fear Feig, on the Boyne. In this year was the first taking of Ath Cliath by the foreigners. A battle was gained over the Connacht men. 838—A fleet on L. Neagh. The territories and churches of the North of Ireland were plundered, and Cork and Ferns burned. 839—The burning of Armagh, with its oratories and cathedral. The plundering of Louth by the foreigners of Lough Neagh;

[4] 832—A great number of the "muintir" of Clonmacnoise were slain by Feidlimid, King of Cashel, and all their termon burned to the doors of the church. In like manner the "muintir" of Durrow also to the doors of the church.—*F.M.* A battle gained over the "muintir" of Kildare in their church by Cellach, King of Leinster, when many were slain.—*Ann. Ulst.*

and they made prisoners of many bishops, and wise and learned men, *and carried them to their fortress,* after having, moreover, slain many others. 840—A fortress was made by the foreigners at Linn Duachaill, out of which the territories and churches of Teffia were preyed. Another fortress was made by them at Dublin, out of which they plundered Leinster and the Ui Neill (South) as far as Slieve Bloom. 841—The killing and burning of the Abbot of Linn Duachaill.[5] A fleet of Norsemen on the Boyne at Rosnaree, another on Lough Swilly, and a third at Magheralin. Clonmacnoise, Castledermot, Birr and Seirkieran were plundered. 842—Clonfert was burned. 843—Cluana-an-dobhair, near Killeigh, in the King's County, and Dunmask were plundered. Nuadhat and the Abbot of Tir-da-Glas were martyred, and Forannan, the Primate of Armagh, was captured, with his relics and Muintir, and taken to Limerick to their ships. *Here comes the first mention of Turgesius in the Annals* (843 *F.M., recte* 845). An expedition by Turgeis, lord of the foreigners, upon Lough Ribh, so that they plundered Connact and Meath, and burned Cluain-mic-Nois, with its oratories, Cluain Fearta Brennain, and Tir-da-Glas, Lothra and many others in like manner. A battle was gained over the foreigners by King Niall, the son of Ædh, in Magh Itha, and a countless number fell. Turgeis was taken prisoner by Maelseachlainn "and his drowning afterwards in L. Uair (L. Owel), through the miracles of God, and Kiaran, and the saints in general."[6] St. Kiaran's special anger is accounted for by the fact that Ota, the wife of Turgesius, took her seat, we are told, on the high altar in the church at Clonmacnoise, and gave audience and answer from it.

We think that the inference to be drawn from the entries we have given (perhaps at too great length) is that up to 845 A.D., the period we are now dealing with, no Scandinavian kingdom was established in Erin, and that the supposed sovereignty of Turgesius over the Gael for thirty years, as Giraldus states, or for fifteen years, as Todd and O'Mahony suggest, or for seven

[5] Linn Duachail, at the tidal opening of the Rivers Glyde and Dee, in Louth, S.E. of Castle Bellingham.—Todd, *Wars of the Gael and Gall*, lxii.

[6] The Annals of Ulster and the Four Masters do not state that Turgeis was drowned by Maelseachlainn, which was the form generally used by them when the drowning was punitive or criminal. The words seem to point rather to a drowning by the miracles of the saints. Macgeoghan states that Turgeis was drowned by Maelseachlainn.

years as Berchan prophesied, is unsupported by trustworthy evidence, and is part of the historical romance connected with the tyrant Turgesius.

Todd was greatly influenced in the view he took of the reign of Turgesius by the statement in the *War of the Gael with the Gaill.* The author of that work states that Turgesius came with a great royal fleet into the North of Ireland, and assumed the sovereignty of the foreigners, and occupied the whole of Leath Chuinn, and "usurped the Abbacy of Armagh, and was in the sovereignty of the North of Ireland." Todd fixes the date at 831 or 832, and infers that the duration of the tyranny of Turgesius cannot have been more than about thirteen years. He observes, "for nine years after his coming he seems to have been content with his secular possession of the country, or unable to overthrow the power of the ecclesiastical authorities. It was not until 841 that he succeeded in banishing the bishop and clergy, and usurped the abbacy, that is to say, the full authority and jurisdiction in Armagh and the North of Ireland." Even if this account was reliable it would fall very far short of proving that Turgesius was Ard Righ over all Erin, or had reduced it to subjection. The only evidence we can find supporting such a view before Giraldus are the prophecies.

Berchan, the chief prophet of heaven and earth, said :—

> Seven years shall they be—not weak their power
> In the High Kingship of Erin,
> In the abbacy of every church,
> The Heathen of the Port of Dublin,
> There shall be an abbot of them over this my Church;
> He shall not attend to Matins,
> Without Pater, without Credo,
> Without Gaelic; only a foreign tongue.

And Beg Mac De :—

> When the bell was rung at Warm Tailten,
> Ciaran, the rich old man of Saighir,
> Promised to Erin three times
> Parties of Danes of the black ships (ꝺuḃ ꝉonꝫꝛi)[7].

These prophecies and the legends connected with them probably reached the ears of Giraldus, who is the first prose writer who speaks of the conquest and subjugation of the whole country.

[7] Todd, *Wars of the Gael*, 10 and 225.

He tells us that in the time of Feidlimidh, the Norwegians came to Erin with a great fleet, took possession with the strong hand and destroyed the churches, and that Turgesius, their leader, having subdued the country in a short time, and making a circuit through it, "incastellated" it in suitable places in every direction. "So you may see," he continues, "in every direction, earth works with deep ditches, very lofty and circular, and often triple. There are also walled castles still perfect, but ancient and deserted, remaining from these ancient times, to be seen to the present day. The Irish do not care about castles. The wood is their castle and the marsh their ditch. Turgesius then ruled Ireland peaceably for a time (thirty years) until he fell by their stratagem of the maidens."[8] The maidens' stratagem is evidently, as Todd points out, an imitation of Hengist's treacherous banquet to Vortigern, as described by Nennius (c. 47). It runs thus :—

Turgesius was a successful suitor for the hand of Maelseachlainn's daughter, and went to take home his bride, accompanied by fifteen youths. She went to meet her lord, accompanied also by fifteen youths disguised as maidens and armed with daggers, who fell upon and slew Turgesius and his companions.[9]

Giraldus was manifestly referring to the Danish forts, as the peasantry call them, and Staigue Fort and the great mounds and work at Brugh na Boinne. It is on the popular legends about these and the story in Nennius that he built his narrative.

Keating follows Giraldus, and tells us :—

Turgesius, the Norse tyrant, with his armies of the men of Finn-Lochlainn, held supreme power in Erin for thirteen years after he had been previously the scourge of that country for seventeen years, for during that length of time he had been exercising violence and rapine on the inhabitants. But when the nobles of Erin saw that Turgesius had brought confusion on their country, and that he was assuming supreme authority, and reducing them to thraldom and vassalage, they became inspired with a loftiness of mind and fortitude of spirit and a hardness and firmness of purpose that urged them to work on right earnestly and to toil zealously against him and his plundering hordes. But though numerous were the battles the Gael fought against Turgesius he at length succeeded in vanquishing the Gaelic nation, and reduced it to bondage and serfdom to himself and to his almuraigh (foreigners).[10]

[8] Giraldus, *Roll Series*, v. 182.
[9] Todd, *Wars of the Gael*, xliv.
[10] Keating, O'Mahony, 505.

At the commencement of the second period (845-1014) the entries in our Annals relating to the coming of the Black foreigners (Dubh-Gaill) may be summarised as follows:—

In 847 a fleet of seven score ships of the king of the foreigners came to contend with the foreigners in Erin before them. The new foreigners were henceforth commonly called the Dubh-Gaill, or black foreigners, and the old foreigners were called Finn-Gaill, or fair foreigners. In 849 the Dubh-Gaill arrived at Athcliath, and made a great slaughter of the Finn-Gaill, who had settled there. They made another attack on the Finn-Gaill at Linn Duachaill, and made a great slaughter of them there. In 851 a fleet of eight score ships of Finn-Gaill arrived at Snam-Eidhneach (*i.e.*, Carlingford Lough) to give battle to the Dubh-Gaill, and they fought with each other for three days and three nights, and the Dubh-Gaill were victorious. The Finn-Gaill left their ships to them. In 852 came Olaf, son of the King of Lochlann, and all the foreign tribes in Erin submitted to him, and a rent (cíop) was given to him by the Gael.[11]

Now, who were the New Foreigners? Where was Lochlann? Dubhgaill, black foreigners, cannot mean people of the dark or brunette type. Whether they came from Scandinavia or Denmark, the overwhelming mass of the raiders must have been blonde or fair. "At the northern limit (which includes Scandinavia and Denmark)," writes Ripley, "we find that about one-third of the people are pure blondes, characterised by light hair and blue eyes, about one-tenth are pure brunettes, the remainder, over one half, being mixed, with a tendency to blondness. There is no appreciable difference between Scandinavia and Denmark as regards pigmentation, and dark types do not change to blonde.

We can scarcely distinguish a Swede from a Dane to-day, or either from a native of Schleswig Holstein or Friesland. They are all

[11] In the Landnamaboc, or Book of Settlements in Iceland, we find the following statement about Olaf, the White, who was, undoubtedly, the Oalf who came to Erin in 853, ten years before the death of Maelseachlainn:—"Anlaff, the White (Oleif?) was the name of a host-king. He was the son of King Ingiald, the son of Helgi, the son of Helge, the son of Anlaf (Oleif's Sonar), the son of Godfred, the son of Halfdan, Whiteleg, the King of the Upland (E. Norway) folk. Anlaff, the White, harried in the West in wrecking cruises, and won Dyflin (Dublin) and Dublin shire—(Dyflin shire)—*and made himself king over it*. He took to wife Aud, or Ead, the Deep Wealthy, the daughter of Cetilflatneh, the son of Beorn Buna, lord of Norway. Thor-slan, the Red, was the name of their son. Anlaff fell in Ireland (fell a Irlande) in battle, but Aud and Thor-slan went to the Southreys (Hebrides).—Vegfusson, *Origines Islandicæ*, Landnambok, 11-14, Vol. I., 76, (1905.)

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described to us by chroniclers, and our modern research corroborates the testimony, as tawny-haired, fiercely blue-eyed barbarians." [12]

It seems probable, we think, that they were different tribes, nominally at least subject to the King of Lochlann. We can thus more easily understand their ready submission to Olaf Beg MacDe says, as we have seen, that they had black ships.[13] "One of the captains was a red-haired maiden." Saxo-grammaticus tells us they used black tents for concealment.[14] And they probably wore black armour of some kind. Glun-iarrainn, iron-knee, and Glun-dubh, black-knee, seem to refer to some black iron defensive armour, and so, probably, were called the "Black Foreigners."

This shire land, over which Olaf made himself king, was, no doubt, in part at least, what in after time came to be known as Fingal. It extended as far north as the Delvin rivulet, a little south of the Nannie water, and inland, in theory at least, as far as the salmon swam up, in accordance with Norse law—*i.e.*, to the Salmon Leap, Lixlot, now Leixlip. The rent of this portion Olaf no doubt received, and this is probably what is meant by our annalists. He most assuredly did not get rent from the High King, or the provincial Kings of Erin. There never was a conquest and occupation of a large part of Erin like the Danish occupation of England. Besides Dublin and Dublin-shire, they built and held forts, with some territory adjoining, at Limerick, Cork, and Waterford, and occupied some places along the coast. Elsewhere there was no permanent occupation.

The Gaelic name of the place where now is Dublin was Ath Cliath—the Ford with the Hurdle Bridge. The Scandinavians called it "Dyflin," a corruption of the Gaelic name for that inlet at the confluence of the Poddle and the Liffey which formed a harbour where ships were moored, and which the Gael called "Dubhlinn," or black pool, from the dark colour given to the water by the bog which extends under the river.[15]

[12] Ripley, W., *Races of Europe* I., 68 and 314.
Loch in Gaelic frequently means fiords, or arms of the sea, *e.g.*, Foyle, Swilly, Belfast, Carmen, (Wexford), Lurgan (Galway). Whatever may be the true meaning of *Viking*, it is highly probable the Gael understood it to mean the men of the Fiords—*Lochlannach*.

[13] *War of the Gael*, p. 225 and 41.

[14] For the tents were dusky in colour and muffled in a sort of pitchy covering that they might not catch the eye of anyone who came near. Saxorammaticus, V. 167. The captain was the famous ingen Ruaḋ.

[15] Haliday.—*The Scandinavian Kingdom of Dublin*, 23.

The termination of the names of three of the provinces is Norse, the Norse, "ster" (=stadr, place) being added to the Gaelic name, as Mumhan-ster, Munster; Ulad-ster, Ulster; Leighin-ster, Leinster; Connact-ster (Kunnakster, Connact) was not retained by the Anglo-Normans, or Angevins. But these names were never used by the Gael when speaking their own tongue, and it must not be supposed that they indicate conquest or occupation of these provinces by the Northmen.

Feordr is a frith or bay, while a small crescent-formed inlet is called a *vik*. There were five Norse fiord names in Erin—Wexford, (L. Carmen) Waterford, (L. Dacaich, or Port Lairge), Carlingford (Snamh Eidhneach), Strangford (L. Cuan), and Ulrick's fiord (L. Larne). "There are," writes Joyce, "little more than a dozen places in Ireland at the present day bearing Danish names, and these are nearly all on or near the East coast Worsae (p. 71) gives a table of 1,373 Danish and Norwegian names in the middle and northern counties of England." He adds, "This appears to me to afford a complete answer to the statement that we sometimes see made—that the Danes conquered the country, and that their chiefs ruled over it as sovereigns."

After the coming of Olaf, from 853 to 875, there were the usual periodical raids and plunderings such as we have described. After this came what are known as the forty years' rest, during which time there came no fresh reinforcements from the north. The Norsemen in Erin during this time raided and made hostings like the native chieftains, won and lost battles, but made no additions to their territory. They appear to have been gradually taking their place among the tribes of the Gael, and there were alliances and intermarriages from time to time between them. During all this time the High King exercised his sovereign rights as usual—enforced the payments of rent or tribute and exacted the delivery of hostages, as the following summary will clearly show:—

In 802 Aodh Oirnidhe, Ard-Righ, went with a large army into Meath and divided it into two parts between the sons of Domhnall, viz., Conchobar and Ailill. They were the sons of the last Ard-Righ. Ailill was slain in battle by Conchobar the following year.

In 805 he divided Leinster between the two Muiredachs.

839—The plundering of Feara Ceal and Dealbhna-Eathra (a

large part of the King's County) by Niall Caille, the High King. Feidlimidh, King of Munster, plundered Meath and Breagh, and he rested at Tara after having in one day taken the hostages of Connact.

840—An army was led by Feidlimidh to Carman (Wexford) and by Niall Caille to Maghochtar (N. Kildare) to meet him. A battle ensued, and Niall "bore away the crozier of the devout Feidlimidh by the battle of swords." Feidlimidh was abbot or bishop of Cashel according to O'Donovan. The same year a battle was gained by Maelruanaedh, the father of King Maelseachlainn, over Diarmaid, son of Conchobar, and Diarmaid was slain.

844—The plundering of Donnchadh, son of Follamhan, and of Flann, son of Maelruanaedh, by Maelseachlainn, son of Maelruanaidh. The plundering of the Termon of Ciaran (*i.e.*, Clonmacnoise) by Feidlimidh, King of Munster; but Ciaran pursued him, as he thought, and gave him a thrust of his crozier, and he received an internal wound, so that he was not well until his death. He died in 845. The annalists (*F. M.* and *Ulst.*) add, to our amazement, that he was the best scribe and anchorite of his time. Does the word "anchorite," taken in connection with his crozier, imply that the devout Feidlimidh was a bishop in Orders, as distinguished from a secular bishop (if we may use the phrase), claiming to be bishop or abbot in right of his crown of Munster without ecclesiastical status? [16]

852—Maelseachlainn proceeded to Munster as far as Ineoin na n-deisi (near Clonmel), and enforced hostages and submission from them, for they had given him opposition at the instigation of the foreigners.

854—He went again to Cashel and carried off the hostages of Munster.

857—He went into Munster and stayed ten nights at Neim (the Blackwater) and plundered it southwards to the sea after defeating their kings at Carn Lugh-dach. He carried off their hostages from Gowra Road to the Bull of Dursey Island and from the Old Head of Kinsale to East Arra of the Arran Isles.

[16] *F. M.* 840 A.D.—"The reader must bear in mind that Feidlimidh was abbot or bishop of Cashel in right of his crown of Munster." We doubt this. Macgeoghan writes of "his great irregularity and great desire of spoyle."

858—He led a hosting of Munster, Leinster, and Connact and the Southern Ui Neill, into the North. Aedh Finnliath attacked his camp at night, and destroyed many in the middle of the camp, but was finally defeated, with great loss, for Maelseachlainn and his army manfully defended the camp against the people of the North. Aedh then formed a league with the foreigners. This was not, however, the first occasion on which the Gael made alliance with them. As far back as 849 Cinaedh, King of Cianachta Breagh, turned against Maelseachlainn at the instigation of the foreigners, so that he wasted the Ui Neill, both churches and districts, from the Shannon to the sea. The following year he was drowned in the Nanny, which flows through Ceannacta Breagh, by Maelseachlainn and Tighernach, with the approval of the good men of Erin, and of the coarb of St. Patrick especially. Aedh Finnliath then rose out against Maelseachlainn at the instigation of Cinaedh's brother and successor in the chieftainry.

859—There was a great hosting by Olaf and Ivar and Cerbhall, King of Ossory, who was then in alliance with them into Meath. Maelseachlainn then held a royal meeting at Rahugh, in Westmeath, and the coarbs of Patrick and Finnian used their influence to establish peace and concord between the men of Erin. Cearbhall joined Leth Chuinn, and Maelgualach tendered his allegiance and was stoned to death by the foreigners.

860—Aedh Finnliath and Flann, son of Conang and Olaf and the foreigners, raided Meath, and Cearbhall, King of Ossory, came to the aid of the High King.

In the following year, 861, when, he had become High King, the foreigners, rifled New Grange, Knowth, Dowth, and the Great Mound at Drogheda. Lorcan, King of Meath, was with them thereat, and was blinded by Aedh the following year.[17]

The reign of this Cearbhall, as King of the Norsemen of Athcliath, is not mentioned in our annals, but Todd and Haliday are of opinion that the reconciliation we mentioned was only temporary, and that there is good evidence that either in alliance with, or elected by, the Norse of Dublin, he became King there about 872, and reigned until 888. His death in that year seems to have inspired the Gael with the

[17] *Three Frag*, 151.

hope of obtaining possession of Ath Cliath by the expulsion of the Northmen. Flann, the High King, joining his forces to those of the King of Connact and aided by the ecclesiastical authorities, attacked them, but was routed in a battle in which fell the King of Connact, the bishop of Kildare, the abbot of Killdalkey, and many others.[18]

[18] Many of the learned in Erin composed praise poems on Cearbhall, the King of Ossory, in which they commemorated every victory he had won, and Aengus, the high, wise abbot, the Coarb of Clonfert Molua (Kyle), at the foot of Slieve Bloom, most of all. O'Donovan observes that it is highly probable that the accounts which were so laudatory of the King of Ossory were based on these poems, which were preserved in the monastery there.

In the Landnama-boc we find the following reference to Cearbhall (Carroll): "Afterwards Eg-wind (Eg-wind-e) took to wife in Ireland Raforta (———), the daughter of Cear-ral. She gave birth to a boy in the Southreys (Hebrides, Sodor), and put him to fosterage there. Two winters later they went back to the island (Sodor) to see the boy, and saw a boy there with fair eyes, but there was no flesh on him, for he was starved, and so they called the boy Helge, the Lean. He was afterwards put into fosterage in Ireland. Eg-wind was called the Ostman, or Eastman, because he came west over the sea out of Sweden in the east. Helge was brought up in Ireland." And also, "at the time Iceland was settled from Norway, Adrianus was Pope of Rome . . . Cearrall (Cearbhall) King at Dublin." "Before Iceland was settled by the Northmen, there were there those people whom the Northmen called Papas. They were Christian men, and people think that they must have been from the West of the Sea because there were found after them Irish books and bells and croziers (baglar), and yet more things by which it might be perceived that they were West men."—Are's († 1148), Landnama boc, Vegfusson, *ubi. sup.*, 13, 14 and 145.

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CHAPTER XIX

A WINTER CIRCUIT.

BEFORE we reach the period of the forty years' rest (875-915), we find entries in our annals relating to the Gaill-Gael, who are sometimes referred to as the apostate Irish who had renounced their baptism. The word usually means the Gael over sea,—the "sea-divided Gael," the inhabitants of Argyle (Airer-gaedela) of Galloway (Gall-gaedhela), the Hebrides, Cantire, and other places. The Gaill-Gael, however, we now speak of were different; they were resident in Erin. They are referred to in the Annals of Ulster and of the Four Masters, but it is nowhere stated that they had lapsed into paganism. Aedh Finnliath gained a great victory over Gaill-Gael at Glenn Foichle (Glenelly, near Strabane), in 855. Bishop Reeves was of opinion—and we think rightly—that these were foreign mercenaries.[1] It is clear, however, from the *Three Fragments of Annals* that the Gaill-Gael were located in Munster and other parts of Erin. The first of these Fragments, which relates chiefly to the Ui Neill, was composed in the North; the other two "evidently belong to Ossory or Leix, and were compiled in some monastery there; but nothing is known of the age or nature of the MSS. from which Dubhthach Mac Firbisigh copied these Fragments." The author of the Third Fragment states that Maelseachlainn [858] made a great hosting against the Munster men, and against Cearbhall, King of Ossory, his brother-in-law, and defeated them in a pitched battle at Carn Lughdhach, near Gowran, in Kilkenny.[2] He continues:—"Though Maelseachlainn had not come on this expedition to take the kingdom of Munster for himself, he ought to have come to kill all the Gaill-Gael who were killed

[1] *Four Masters*, 1154. The Cinel Eogain and Muirchertach Ua Neill sent per sons over sea to hire, and they did hire the ships of Gaill-Gael of Ara (Arran, Ceantire, the Isle of Man, and the borders of Alba in general.

[2] O'Donovan, *Three Fragments*, 2 and 139. This hosting, and the battle of Carn Lughdhach, are mentioned in the *Annals of Ulster* and the *Four Masters*.

there, for they were a people who had renounced their baptism, and they were usually called Northmen, for they had the customs of the Northmen, and had been fostered by them; and though the original Northmen were bad to the churches, they were by far worse in whatever part of Erin they used to be." In the same year (858) a victory was gained by Cearbhall over the Gaill-Gael of Aradh Tire (Barony of Arra, Tipperary."[3]) He gives an instance of their sacrilegious spoliations under the date of 854:—"In this year many forsook their Christian baptism, and joined the Lochlanns, and they plundered Armagh, and carried away all its valuables; but some of them did penance, and came to make restitution (venerunt ad satisfactionem)."[4] Forsook their baptism may mean here merely that they were recreant and untrue to it, especially in not going afterwards and making restitution.

There were, no doubt, many Gael taken captives, and, when young, brought up as pagans, and there may have been individual cases of persons renouncing the Faith, and there were, also, no doubt, mercenaries who had been brought up as pagans; but in the absence of all mention of a class of apostate native-born Gael in Erin by our Annalists it is safe to assume that no such class ever came into existence.

The forty years' rest corresponds very nearly with the reign of Flann Sinna, the son of Maelseachlainn (877-915). For this period we shall give only a few illustrative details. In 883 the Northmen raided Kildare, and carried off fourteen score captives to their ships. In 890, led by Gluniarn, they raided Armagh, and carried off 710 persons into captivity. In 895 (F.M.) they were on L. Neagh, and carried off the "Etach Padraig," *i.e.*, Patrick's raiment (or crozier?)[5]

In 895 they were defeated by the men of Louth and Ulidia, with the loss of 800 men. In this battle fell Olaf, the son of Ivar, and Gluntradna, the son of Gluniarn. In 901 the North men were expelled from Ath Cliath, by Cearbhall, the son of Murigen, and the Leinster men and the men of Bregia, and

[3] A victory was gained by Cearbhall, Lord of Ossory, and by Ivar in the territory of Aradh Tire over the Cinel-Fiachach (barony of Moycashel, Westmeath), and the Gaill-Gael of Leath Chuinn.—*Four Masters*, 856 A.D.

[4] *Three Fragments*, 127.

[5] O'Donovan says it was, probably, a garment preserved in some old chapel near L. Neagh. We suggest that it was a crozier like the "Etach Mochaoi," which was a pastoral staff, and called eiteach (winged) from a legend that it flew from heaven. Reeve's *Adamnan*, 450.

leaving great numbers of their ships behind them they fled half dead to Ireland's Eye, where they were besieged. During these years Flann, too, was busy. In the first year of his reign (877) he plundered Munster from Killaloe to Cork, and in 880 made another raid, and carried off their hostages. In 906, joined by Cearbhall, he plundered from Gowran to Limerick. The celebrated Cormac MacCuilenain was King of Munster at this time, and his principal adviser was a fiery abbot, Flaithbhertach, of Inis Scattery.[6] They led a strong force in the following year (907) into Meath, and defeated the army of Leath Chuinn, on the historic battle-field of Magh Lena, near Tullamore, and they subsequently defeated the Southern Ui Niall and the men of Connact, and carried off the hostages of Connact in their great fleets on the Shannon.

Cormac was bishop of Cashel as well as King of Munster. Some say that he had married the daughter of Flann Sinna—Gormlaith, the blue-eyed princess, and had repudiated her. Others say, with more probability, that there was only a betrothal between them, and that the engagement was broken off. In either case Gormlaith was not likely to be a peace-maker. At this time she was the wife of Cearbhall, the son of Murigen, the King of Leinster who must not be confounded with Cearbhall, the King of Ossory, and subsequently became the wife of Niall Glandubh. An ecclesiastical element was also added to the seething cauldron.[8] There was at this time a famous monastery at Monasterevan which had been founded by Evin, of the line of Eogan Mor, and the monks in the abbey were all Munster men, and it was called *M uimneach i.e.*, of the Munster men. Cearbhall, King of Leinster, took forcible possession of it and expelled the monks, who promptly laid their grievances before Cormac and the fiery abbot, who was himself of the line of Eogan Mor. It is also stated that

[6] Flaithbhertach afterwards became king of Cashel, *i.e.*, Munster. He resigned the kingship, and went on his pilgrimage in 920 (F.M.), and was succeeded by Lorcan, the grandfather of Brian Boru.

[7] Even if there was a contract *per verba de presenti*, as sometimes happened in those days between persons of tender years, it would be nullified by Cormac becoming a professed religious, if the marriage was not consummated, and we think it likely that Cormac was a "religious," like his successor, Flaithbertach, the abbot of Inis Scattery.

Si quis dixerit matrimonium ratum non consummatum per solemnem religionis professionem alterius conjugum non dirimi anathema sit.

Conc. Trident. sess. xxiv., can. 6.

[8] *Cf.* O'Halloran, *History of Ireland*, 185.

Cormac demanded the *boroma* from Leinster. However this may be, the result of these complications, which we shall not attempt to unravel, was that a pitched battle was fought (908) at Bealach Mughna (Ballaghmoon), in Kildare, about two and a half miles north of Carlow.

Woeful indeed was the tumult and clamour of that battle, for there rose the death-cry of the Munster men as they fell, and the shouting of the Leinster men, exulting in the slaughter of their foes. There were two causes why the fight went so suddenly against the men of Munster. The first was because Keilcher, a relative of Finguime (Cormac's predecessor) jumped hastily upon his steed and cried out, "Flee, O Free Clans of Munster; flee from this terrific conflict, and let the clerics fight it out themselves, since they would accept of no other conditions but that of battle from the men of Leinster." He then clapped spurs to his horse and quitted the field with his followers. The second cause was that Ceallach, the son of the King of Ossory, who was on Cormac's side, also rode off the field with the men of Ossory. A general rout followed. Neither boy, man, or cleric found quarter; all were slaughtered indiscriminately. Cormac rushed towards the van of his division. His horse fell on the slippery blood-stained field His neck was broken in the fall, and he died saying, "Into Thy hands O Lord, I commend my spirit." And then some wicked folk came up and pierced the body with their spears and cut off his head.[9]

His loss was mournful, for he was a King, a bishop, an anchorite, a scribe, and profoundly learned in the Gaelic tongue. He was the author of "Cormac's Glossary," by far the oldest attempt at a comparative vernacular dictionary made in any language in modern Europe, which has fortunately come down to us. "The Psalter of Cashel," now lost, was compiled by him, or under his direction. He appears to have known Latin, Greek, Hebrew, and Danish, and to have been one of the finest old Gaelic scholars of his day, and withal, an accomplished poet. His verses are now lost.[10]

The forty years' rest ended in 915 A.D. The year before a new fleet of Norsemen arrived at Waterford, and were soon followed by strong reinforcements. Munster was raided, and the Gael roused for once to something like united action. Flann Sinna died at Tailtin in 916, and was succeeded by Niall Glundubh, the son of Aedh Finnliath. Niall at once summoned all his forces to meet the new invasion. He led the Northern and Southern Ui Neill to the aid of the men of Munster and Leinster. The campaign, however, resulted favourably for the Norsemen. The men of Leinster were defeated at Cennfuait, Kildare was raided, and Dublin reoccupied. Next year (917) Niall reassembled his forces

[9] Keating (O'Mahony) 529.
[10] *Four Masters*, 903 (*recte*, 908), A.D. Hyde, *Literature*, 420.

and advanced on Dublin. A decisive battle was fought on the 19th of October at Kilmashogue, near Rathfarnham, about five miles south of the present city. The army of the High King included the Southern and Northern Ui Neill, the men of Little Ulster, and the men of Oirghialla. The men of Leinster, Munster, and probably the men of Connacht, were engaged defending their own territories. The Gael were routed with red slaughter: Niall was slain with, some say, twelve kings or chieftains around him. The Four Masters mention Conchobar, Ua Maelseachlainn, *regdamna* of the Southern Ui Neill; the King of Little Ulster, the Lord of Oirghialla, and many others.

"Sorrowful that day was holy Erin
To view Magh-Neill (*i.e.*, Erin) without Niall."

This defeat was, however, avenged in the following year by Niall's successor, Donnchadh, the son of Flann Sinna, who gained a signal victory over the Norsemen in North Dublin. There fell as many of the nobles and rank and file of the Northmen as had fallen of the Gael in the battle of Kilmashogue. Notwithstanding this victory, we find Godfrey in possession of Dublin in 926, from which he plundered Armagh, but spared the "oratories," the Ceile De, and the sick. The Northmen then sent divisions north and east and west. The force that went north was encountered and defeated by Muirchertach of the *Leather Cloaks*, as he came to be called, the son of Niall Glundubh, and from this time until his death (943) he was the mainstay of the Gael in the north. He was then King of Aileach, and, if he had survived, would undoubtedly have been the next Ard Righ in succession to Donnchadh. He married, first, Flanna, the daughter of Donnchadh, the Ard Righ, and, secondly, in 940, Dubdara, the daughter of Ceallach, King of Ossory. The entries in our Annals respecting him are most interesting, and present a view of the social state of Erin, which is almost incomprehensible.

926—Two victories by Muirchertach over the Northmen. The second at Cluain na g-cruimthir, where 800 were killed.

927—War with Duach, the chieftain of Glenn Given (Derry), during which the chieftain was slain.

In the same year Donnchadh, the Ard Righ, was prevented from holding the fair of Tailtin by Muirchertach in consequence of a challenge of battle between them, but God separated them without slaughter.

929—Donnchadh led an army to Leitrim against Muirchertach, but they separated without bloodshed.

932—Torolbh, the jarl, commanding a fleet of Norsemen on Lough Neagh, was slain by Muirchertach.

933—Muirchertach was defeated by Gaelic chieftains in Meath.

938—A challenge of battle between Donnchadh and Muirchertach until they made peace, united their forces, marched to lay siege to Dublin, and spoiled the country of the foreigners from Ath Cliath to Ath Truistin, near Athy.

939—The Northmen plundered Aileach and took Muirchertach prisoner to their ships on Lough Swilly, but he made his escape from them soon after, to the great joy of the Gael.

940—A hosting by Donnchadh, Ard Righ, and Muirchertach into Leinster and Munster until they took hostages from them.

941—Muirchertach raided Ossory and the Desies; made a royal expedition to the Hebrides, from which he brought back much plunder and booty, and hearing that Callaghan of Cashel had made a slaughter of the Desies for submitting to him the year before, he set out in mid-winter of the same year on his famous circuit of Erin with one thousand picked warriors. This expedition is celebrated in a famous poem by Cormacan Eigeas (*the Poet*), who died in 948. He was the chief poet of the Northern Ui Neill and the friend and follower of Muirchertach, and seemingly accompanied him. The poem is very interesting, as it illustrates the manners of the time, social and political, and deserves, consequently, a somewhat detailed notice. It commences:—

Muirchertach, son of the valiant Niall (Glundubh),
Thou hast taken the hostages of Inis Fail,
Thou hast brought them all unto Aileach,
Into the *grianan* of the splendid steeds.
Thou didst go forth from us with a thousand heroes
Of the race of Eogan of the red weapons
To make the great circuit of all Erin.
O, Muirchertach of the yellow hair,
The day that thou didst set out from us eastwards
Into the fair province of Conchobar (Mac Nessa)
Many were the tears down beauteous cheeks
Among the fair-haired women of Aileach.

They spent a night at Oenach Cros in Antrim—"Not more pleasant to be in Paradise"—and brought Loingseach of Linne as a hostage; a night at Dun Eachach on the Ravel Water,

and brought the King of Ulidia with them; a night at Magh Rath (Moira); a night at Glenn Righe (the vale of the Newry river); a night at Casan Linne in Down; and a night at Ath Gabla on the Boyne.

We were a night at Ath Cliath;
It was not pleasing to the foreigners.
There was a damsel in the fort
Whose soul the son of Niall was.[11]
She came forth until she was outside the walls,
Although the night was bad throughout.

Bacon and fine good wheat and joints of meat and fine cheese were given by the beautiful queen, and a coloured mantle for each chieftain.

We carried off Sitric of the treasures;
To me was assigned the duty of keeping him,
And there was not put upon him a handcuff,
Nor a polished tight fetter.

They were a night at Dunlavin; a night at cold Kilcullen. The snow came from the north-east.

Our only houses, without distinction of rank,
Were our strong (sheep ?) skin cloaks.[12]

They brought off Lorcan, King of Leinster, with a rough, bright fetter on him. They spent a night at Ballaghmoon, near Carlow, and passing into Ossory, received food, and ale, and hogs from its hospitable chiefs. "Not a man of them returned to his house without a beautiful present of dress." They received coigne and tribute from the Desies, and marched to Cashel.[13] The men of Munster were disposed to fight, but Callaghan of Cashel said :—

O men of Munster, men of renown,
Oppose not the race of Eogan;
Better that I go with them *as a hostage.*
We took with us, therefore, Callaghan the Just,
Who received his due honour;
A ring (of gold ?) of fifteen ounces on his hand,
And a chain of iron on his stout legs.

They spent a night in *Hy Cairbre* (Coshma, Limerick); a night at Killaloe, and then turned homewards. At Headford

[11] Haliday suggests that the damsel was Donnflaith, the daughter of Muirchertach and the wife of Olaf. She was the mother of Gluncaran.

[12] Ar ꝯcocaiꝺ coꝛꝛa cꝛoicinn. This is generally rendererd "leather cloaks." They were, we think, dressed sheep-skins, untanned and unshorn.

[13] Dubdara, wife of Muirchertach, was, as we have stated, the daughter of the chieftain of Ossory.

they found the Kings of Connact awaiting them, and Conchobar, the son of Tadg the Bull-like.

> The ard-righ of valiant Connact
> Came with us, without a bright fetter,
> Into the green *grianan* of Aileach.

Nearing home,

> A giolla was despatched to Aileach
> To tell Dubhdara of the black hair,
> To send women to cut rushes.
> "Bestir thee, Dubdara" (spoke the giolla),
> "Here is company coming to thy house,
> Attend each man of them
> As a king should be attended."

The noble kings were attended "as if they had been clerics," "ten score hogs; ten score cows; 200 oxen; three score vats of curds, which banished the hungry look of the army," twelve vats of choice mead; and all this was the gift of the queen, from her separate property, which was repaid to her by Muirchertach, "twenty hogs for every hog, a good return." At the end of four months, Muirchertach offered the "noble kings to Donnchad, the ard righ, who courteously declined to accept them from his son-in-law, and said :—

> Receive my blessing nobly,
> May Tara be possessed by thee,
> May the hostages of the Gael be in thy house,
> O good son, O Muirchertach.[14]

Muirchertach was slain (943) in a battle fought near Ardee, by Blocar, the son of Godfrey, and the foreigners, who marched to Armagh after their victory, and plundered it. The hostages taken to secure Muirchertach's succession were then liberated,

[14] The word *grianan* occurs twice in the poem.
(1). Into the *grianan* of the splendid steeds (line 4),
ıṙ ın ʒṙeanan ʒ̇all ʒṙoıʋeaċ.
This O'Donovan renders :—
Into the stone-built *grianan* (palace) of steeds.
(2). Into the green grianan of Aileach (line 150),
ı n-ʒṙeánan uaıne oılıġ.
This O'Donovan renders :—
Into the green Palace of Aileach.
The 151st line is :—
Aḋaıġ ı moıġ Aı uaıne.
A night on green Magh Ai (a celebrated plain in Roscommon).
We think that the meaning of *grianan* here is not a palace, but an enclosure, or paddock; a meaning which it bore until recently, as we have already stated (c. xiv.), in the Highlands. "Enclosures in the Highlands were called *grianans*"—Bonwick, *Druids*, 192. The troop of hostages, with their attendants, were, we think, accommodated in tents, or "wattle and dab" buildings, within the "horse paddock," at Aileach. The epithet "green" is then as applicable in line 150 as in line 151, but we confess we do not understand what is meant by a *green*, stone-built, palace. Muirchertach is referred to in line 16 as "of the great steeds" (ṁoṙ-ʒṙoıʋıġ).

and on the death of Donnchadh (944), the rule of alternate succession was disregarded, and Congalach, of the southern branch, became Ardrigh. A rival claimant then appeared, of the line of Conal Gulban, Ruadhri Ua Cannannain, from Tir-Conaill. He defeated Congalach, who was supported by Olaf Cuaran, in a pitched battle near Slane, in Meath (947). In 948 he defeated Congalach again and plundered Bregia. He encamped at Muine Brocain, and there assumed the name and authority of High King of Erin, and the "dues of the King of Erin were sent to him from every quarter" (*Four Masters*). In this position he was attacked by the foreigners and after a desperate struggle in which six thousand of the foreigners fell, Ruadhri was slain in the "counterblow" of the fight, but the victory finally remained with his army. Congalach then held the sovereignty without further opposition, and led a hosting into Munster, raided and plundered West Munster, and killed the two sons of Kennedy, the son of Lorcan, Echtighern and Donnchuan. In the following year (951), he made a hosting with a great fleet on Lough Derg, and took the hostages of the Munster men, over whom he obtained sway after some opposition.

In the same year, probably whilst Congalach was away harrying the men of Munster, the foreigners, under Godfrey, the son of Sitric, raided Meath, and "carried upwards of three thousand persons with them into captivity, besides gold, silver, raiment, and various wealth and goods of every description."

During the reign of Congalach an event occurred (950), which deserves particular notice, as showing the use to which a Round Tower was put in time of danger. The cloictech of Slane in Meath was burned by the Northmen, "with its full of relics and distinguished persons, and the crozier of the patron saint, and the bell, which was the best of bells." The following items are also of interest:—

951—Clonfert plundered by Callaghan of Cashel and the Munster men.

953—Clonmacnoise plundered by the foreigners of Limerick, and the Munster men along with them.

954—Inis Uladh, near Donard (Wicklow), plundered by Olaf Cuaran and Tuathal, son of Ugaire.

954—Saighir Ciaraan plundered by the Munster men.

Congalach raided Leinster in 956. The Leinster men sent

word to Olaf Cuaran, and the foreigners of Ath Cliath, who laid a battle ambush for him, and he was slain with many chieftains near the Liffey, not far from Dublin. He was succeeded by Domhnall, son of Muirchertach, of the northern Ui Neill. Many years afterwards Domhnall, the son of Congalach, made alliance with Olaf, and fought a pitched battle against the High King at Kilmoon, near Dunshaughlin in Meath, in which he was victorious, but failed to oust King Domhnall, who continued to reign until he died (978) at Armagh. He was afterwards called Domhnall of Armagh, because he resided there a long time to do penance. He was succeeded by Maelseachlainn II., Maelseachlainn the Great, who was the last Ardrigh of the Gael who ruled without opposition.

During the sixty years that elapsed from the battle of Kilmashogue (919), the Northmen of Ath-cliath had made no addition to their territory near Dublin. As in the previous period, they were seemingly settling down into the position of Gaelic chieftains. There were frequent intermarriages and shifting alliances between them and the older settlers, now with one chieftain, now with another, for war or plunder. Many of them had probably been by this time converted to Christianity.

There were also raiding expeditions conducted by themselves independently. Territories were harried, termons violated, and monasteries rifled, but these regrettable incidents occurred also amongst the Gael themselves. The fusion of the two branches of the Nordic race, if yet distant, seemed to be approaching. From the accounts given in the historical romances, and particularly in the "*War of the Gael with the Gaill*," to which we shall refer later on, the notion is widely diffused that the country was at this time, and thence onwards to the battle of Clontarf (1014), reduced by the tyranny of the Northmen to a state of absolute barbarism and savagery. This, however, was not the case. The raiding meant little more than cattle-lifting. The number of men slain in the numerous combats was not great, and is no doubt, as is usual in such cases, greatly exaggerated by the annalists and bardic narrators. It is probable, we think, that more Irishmen in proportion to population fell in battle or died from wounds and disease in the wars of the nineteenth than in the wars of the tenth century. Nor could the rifling of the monasteries have

been fruitful of much spoil after the earlier attacks. There were no treasures hoarded or deposited in them, and their modest equipment of valuables, consisting, apart from the cattle, principally of relics, shrines, chalices, and other altar requisites, could be easily hidden away if the cloicteach was not available or was considered insecure. And the burning of the "wattle and dab" buildings could not be much more than a temporary inconvenience. It has been said that it was harder to burn than to build them. We make these observations, not to extenuate the outrages, but to call attention to exaggerations. The most serious part of these raidings by the Northmen was the taking of captives. In several instances recorded in our annals the captives were carried off to the ships and were, no doubt, either ransomed or reduced to slavery. With the Gael we hear very little of prisoners or captives. In battle, apparently, quarter was seldom if ever given. Later on we shall meet with an instance where the defeated Northmen were put to death or sold as slaves at Singland near Limerick. We are, therefore, on the whole prepared to find that notwithstanding much that needed reformation in the social state, learning and literature flourished during the ninth and tenth centuries. The most celebrated names besides Cormac Mac Cuilenain, already mentioned, were Flann Mac Lonain, "the Virgil of the Gael," a contemporary of Cormac's; Cinnaeth Ua hArtacain († 973), Eocaid O'Flynn (+984 *c*), Cormac an Eigeas, Maelmarra of Fahon, MacLiag, and others. Nor was the gentler sex unrepresented. Gormlaith, the wife of Niall Glundubh, was a poetess of considerable merit. Many of her poems express her sorrow for his loss. We give the following graceful lines as a sample:

Monk, remove thy foot,
Lift it off the grave of Niall;
Too long dost thou heap the earth
On him with whom I fain would lie.
Too long dost thou, Monk, there
Heap the earth on noble Niall;
Thou brown-haired friend, though gentle,
Press not with thy shoe the earth,
Do not firmly close the grave,
O Priest, whose office is so sad,
Lift off the bright-hair'd Niall Glundubh;
Monk, remove thy foot.[15]

[15] Dean of Lismore's Book, 75 Gaelic, 101 English.

CHAPTER XX.

BRIAN BORU.

WE must now follow the fortunes of the Northmen in the South, after the forty years' rest. They arrived in large numbers at Waterford, and after the battle of Kilmashogue (918) sailed up the Shannon with a great fleet, under the command of Gormo, the son of Elgi, called Tomar by the Gael. They took possession of Inis Sibhtonn, now King's Island at Limerick; went up the river to L. Ree; plundered the islands there, and burned Clonmacnoise. In 924, Colla, the son of Barill, the lord of Limerick, went again on L. Ree, raided Brawney in Westmeath, and killed the chieftain Echtigern. In 929 they invaded Connact, and went on L. Corrib; but in the following year a great slaughter was made of them by the men of that province. They next made a hosting into Ossory, under Ivar, the grandson of Ivar, and encamped on the famous plain of Magh Roighne, where they were attacked in the following year by the Northmen of Dublin, under Godfrey, who was probably in alliance with the men of Ossory. He had previously (923 or 924 A.D.) attacked them at Limerick, and had been defeated by Tomar, the son of Elgi. On this occasion he was successful, and expelled the invaders. Ivar soon after made alliance with Ceallachan of Cashel, King of Munster, and they plundered the monasteries, Cluain Eidneach and Cillachaedh, and the territory of Meath (939). Clonmacnoise was again plundered by the Munster men and the Northmen of Limerick; and St. Mullins, on the Barrow in Carlow, was raided from the sea by Larac, after whom, probably, Waterford was named Port Lairge. In 959 Clonmacnoise was again plundered by Mahon, the eldest brother of Brian Boru, and the Munster men. In 960 it was plundered again by the men of

Ossory, and the men of Munster raided "the termon of Ciaran eastwards from the Shannon." On the death of Fergraidh, in 960, Mahon became King of Munster,[1] and in the same year a fleet of the son of Olaf and the Ladgmans came to Erin, and plundered Louth and Howth, and the Ladgmans afterwards sailed to Munster, and raided Ui Leathain, and plundered Lismore and Cork. They went after that into Ui Leathain (S.E. Cork), where they were overtaken by Mael-Cluithe Ua Maeleitinn, who made a great slaughter of them, killing 365, so that there escaped not one of them, only the crews of three ships. A prey by Sitric Cam, from the sea to Ui Colgain;[2] but he was overtaken by Olaf with the foreigners of Ath Cliath and the Leinster men. Olaf was victorious, and wounded Sitric with an arrow in his thigh, who escaped to his ships after the slaughter of his people.

In 960, (F.M.), the Ui Neill led an army into Munster, and committed great plunders there. In 961, Feargal Ua Ruairc, King of Connact, made a slaughter of Mahon's men. Three score were killed, including three grandsons of Lorcan. In 962 Kildare was raided by the Northmen, and a great number of seniors and ecclesiastics were taken prisoners, who were afterwards ransomed. The full of St. Brigid's great house, and the full of the oratory of them, is what Niall Ua h-Eruilbh purchased with his own money. A victory by the men of Ossory over Olaf, the son of Sitric, was won in the same year at Inistiogue on the Nore.[3]

The Four Masters state that in 965 Mahon plundered Limerick and burned it. But we are anticipating. Up till this time the Norsemen of the South appear to have occupied nearly the same position as the Northmen in Ath Cliath. They held the fort and town of Waterford (Vedra Feordr, Weather Haven), and some territory near it—probably what is now known as the barony Gaultier (Gall tire), and the fort and town of Limerick, and some territory near it—probably what

[1] The succession of the Kings of Munster, according to the *Book of Leinster*, was as follows:—(1) Cormac mac Cuilenainn; (2) Flabhertach, Abbot of Inis Scattery; (3) Lorcan; (4) Ceallachan of Cashel; (5) Mael Fithortagh; (6) Dubhdabairind; (7) Fergradh; (8) Mathgamhain or Mahon; (9) Molloy, the son of Bran; (10) Brian Boru, "killed in *the battle of the weir of Cluain Taerbh* (Clontarf) by the Leinster men and the foreigners."—Todd, *War of the Gael*, 239.

[2] Ui Colgain was in the territory of Offaly, and co-extensive with the barony of Philipstown, in the King's County.

[3] Petrie *Round Towers*, 227.

was afterwards known as the Ostman's Cantred—and they made alliances, intermarriages, and raidings like their kinsmen; and, to crown all, they fought with one another just like the native chieftains. There was no attempt to form a combination of the Gael against them; no Gaelic chieftain unfurled a national flag, and summoned his countrymen to a war of liberation. The bardic account of their position and doing in Munster is, however, very different. The author of the "War of the Gael with the Gaill" approaches the subject from the tribal standpoint. He is a panegyrist of the Dal Cais, to which tribe he belonged, and by whose bounty he was, no doubt, rewarded. He tells us that "they excelled all other tribes in Erin as a bright watch-tower, shining above all the light of the earth, as the bright sun outshines the noblest stars of the sky." And in order to show how much the men of Erin owed to their deliverers from bondage, he extols the bravery, the superior discipline, and the armaments of the Norsemen, while he paints a dark picture of their cruelty and oppression:—

"There was a king of them in every territory and an abbot in every church (!) and a steward in every village, and a soldier in every house; so that none of the men of Erin had power even to give the milk of his cow, nor as much as the clutch of eggs of his hen, in succour or kindness to an aged man or to a friend, but was obliged to preserve them for the foreign steward, or bailiff, or soldier. And though there might be but one milk-giving cow in the house, she durst not be milked for an infant of one night, etc. And an ounce of silver for every nose, besides the royal tribute afterwards every year; and he who had not the means of paying it had himself to go into slavery for it. In a word, though there were a hundred hard steeled iron heads on one neck, and a hundred sharp, ready cool, never-resting brazen tongues in each head, and a hundred garrulous, loud, unceasing voices from each tongue, they could not recount, nor narrate, nor enumerate, nor tell what all the Gael suffered in common from this valiant, wrathful, foreign, fiercely pagan people. None of the victorious clans of many-familied Erin could give relief against the oppression because of the excellence of their "polished, ample, heavy, trusty, glittering" corselets, and their hard, strong, valiant swords, and their well-rivetted long spears, etc., and because of their thirst and hunger for the sweet grassy land of Erin. There was, however, a certain, gracious, noble, high-born, beautiful tribe in Erin who never submitted to oppression. These were the deliverers, the famous Dal-Cais.

The style and character of "the War of the Gael with the Gaill" may be judged from the foregoing extract. It is marked with the malady of the decadence. There is the accumulation of epithets, and the exaggeration we have already noticed in

the modern prose additions to the Tain. This disease, however, is not peculiar to Gaelic writers. It appears in the Orphic literature of Greece and is found in an acute form in the Hymn to Ares, which is Orphic, though usually classed as one of the Homeric Hymns. We have observed it also in Hindustani, where it takes the milder form of the duplication of verbs of similar meaning, emasculating the force of that smooth and interesting language. In our bardic narratives, sense and thought are thus often diluted until their presence can, with difficulty, be detected in the flow of words that supplies the sonorous vocalization of the reciter. This rhetorical or recitative verbosity is, as Huxley has justly remarked, "the most deadly of literary sins." What O'Donovan has said of the "Three Fragments" is equally true of the "War of the Gael." "The more lengthened stories and details of battles are curious specimens of Irish composition. Some of them have evidently been abstracted from long bardic descriptions, and are interspersed with the wonderful, the wild, the supernatural, and the incredible."[4]

On the other hand, judging from the Homilies which have reached us, the preaching of the Word was singularly free from the vicious methods of the bardic reciters. The sermons are masculine in thought and treatment, level with the subject and the occasion, marked by simplicity and sincerity, and free from vapid banalities and frigid ecstasy.

After the Northmen built their fort on King's Island, at Limerick, and placed their ships on the Upper Shannon, they harried the country in every direction. The brunt of the attack, however, fell on the Dal Cais in Thomond. The Norse occupied a good strategic position at Tradry (Bunnratty), on the Shannon, in Clare, about six miles from Limerick, where they built a strong fort. Mahon, and his brother, Brian, retired into the woods and fastnesses of North Clare and South Galway, from which they carried on a guerilla warfare for some years. Mahon, wearied out at length, made a truce with the Northmen, but Brian persisted in continuing hostilities. He was at length reduced to the greatest straits. Mahon then came to his aid, and they called a meeting of the Dal Cais, and put the question of peace or war to the

[4] *Three Fragments*, Preface.

assembled tribesmen. Every voice was for war. A hosting was then made into Kerry, where the Eoganachts, and the men of Muskerry in Cork, joined them, and the Northmen in those parts were driven out. Mahon then marched to Cashel, and took possession, and became King of Munster. This was probably in 964. Sitric of Limerick then summoned a great muster of his supporters. These included Gael as well as Norsemen, "for there were many Gael who stood by him, not so much through love of him, as through hatred of the Dal Cais."[5] Foremost among these were Donovan, lord of the Ui Fidhgeinate, and Maelmuadh (Molloy), the son of Bran, lord of Desmond. Ivar marched with his forces towards Cashel to crush the Dal Cais. When Mahon heard of this he summoned his tribesmen to a council of war, and they determined to march to Cnamhcoill, near Tipperary. At this moment an outlying branch of the Dal Cais—the Dealbhna from Delvin in Westmeath—arrived in the nick of time to aid their clansmen —one hundred well-armed men, under Cathal, the son of Feredach, "the king soldier and champion of Erin." This was welcomed as an omen of victory. The decisive battle was then fought (968) at Sulchoit, about 2½ miles north-west of Tipperary. It lasted from sunrise to mid-day, and ended in the complete rout of the Norsemen and their allies. The fort and town of Limerick, with their rich spoils, fell into the hands of the victors. The prisoners were then collected on the hill of Saingel (Singland), near Limerick, and "every one that was fit for war was put to death, and every one that was fit for a slave was enslaved." Mahon followed up this victory, and defeated the enemy in subsequent engagements, and took the hostages of Munster, in particular those of Donovan and Molloy. Ivar escaped with Olaf, the son of Olaf, to the East—*i.e.*, Wales, where, however, he did not succeed in making good his footing. He returned in a year's time with a great fleet, entered the western harbour of Limerick, took possession of the larger islands of the Shannon, and fixed his headquarters at Inis Scattery. Shortly afterwards the conspiracy was hatched between him, Donovan, and Molloy (who represented the claims and hatreds of the line of Eogan Mor), which ended in the assassination of Mahon. The details as to the murder

[5] Todd *War of the Gael*, cxvi.

given in the "War of the Gael" are confused and contradictory and we shall not reproduce them here. Todd observes that the narrative in the "War of the Gael" bears internal evidence both of interpolation and mutilation.

A probable version, in our view, is, that Mahon went from Bruree to meet Molloy in Desmond, and that Molloy sent forward an escort to meet him to the border of the county of Cork. The escort lay in wait for Mahon. The road from Bruree to Mallow and South Munster passed through Kilmallock, and across Sliabh Caein, through a pass known as the Red Gap (Bearna Dhearg). According to tradition, it was in this pass that Mahon was assassinated by the escort. Mahon was probably proceeding on a peaceful mission, and had the guarantee and protection of the Bishop of Cork, who promptly excommunicated all persons who were concerned in the murder. We would infer that the motive for the murder was revenge, not policy. The conspirators gained nothing by the crime. Brian, who took the place of Mahon, "was not an egg in the place of a stone nor a wisp of hay in the place of a shillelagh." He forthwith demanded that Molloy should be given up, and announced that no *cumhal* or *eric* would be taken. It was an intertribal homicide, and, as we have seen, he was not bound to take an *eric*, but might insist on life for life. The Dal Cais marched against Molloy, and a pitched battle was fought at Bealach Leachta, somewhere between Ardpatrick, in Limerick, and Glanworth, in Cork, in which Molloy was slain and his army routed.[6] Brian next attacked Donovan, whose daughter was married to Ivar of Waterford, and who was in alliance with, and sustained by the Norsemen. Donovan was defeated and slain, and Brian became the undisputed King of all Munster—in 978, two years before the accession of Maelseachlainn II.

The facts recorded in our annals, about which there is no controversy, prove conclusively that the Northmen were never conquerors of Munster, nor present there in overwhelming

[6] In this bloody engagement (Bealach Leachta), Murrough, the eldest son of Brian, by Mor, daughter of O'Hine (Ua h'Eidhin) Prince of Hy Fiachre-Aedhne, in Connact, made his first campaign, and although but thirteen years old, engaged hand to hand with Maelmuidh, and slew this murderer of his uncle.—O'Halloran, *History* II., 236.

Brian had probably married Mor during the time of his early struggles in North Clare and South Connact.

numbers. The capture of King's Island, which, without a fleet of boats, could only be attacked by a ford across the Shannon, and the defeat of the Norsemen at Sulchoit, though they were aided by two powerful chieftains like Molloy and Donovan, is sufficient to disprove the legend we have quoted from "The War of the Gael." The raids of the Norsemen in Munster were of the same character as their raids elsewhere, and there was no effective occupation of any territory in Munster except in the immediate vicinity of Waterford and Limerick, which places were, no doubt, used to some extent as trading stations. We must therefore reject the bombastic description in the bardic narratives, which were manifestly fabricated to magnify the services of the Dal Cais and to glorify the hero, Brian Boru.

Maelseachlainn II. became ard righ, as we have stated in 980. His accession was peaceable. The two *rig damna* representing the Northern and Southern branches of the Ui Neill, who had prior claims, had been slain in battle in 977 by Olaf, the son of Sitric. Maelseachlainn began his reign with a great victory over the Northmen at Tara (980), and afterwards defeated the foreigners of Ath Cliath and the Western Isles with great slaughter, killing Ragnall, the son of Olaf, the *rig damna* of Dublin. Olaf then went over sea to Iona, where he died, "after penance and a good life." Maelseachlainn soon after made a great hosting with the King of Ulidia against the foreigners of Ath Cliath. They beleagured them for three days and three nights, and brought thence the hostages of Erin, including Domhnal Claen,[7] King of Leinster, and the guarantees (ⲉⲧⲓⲛⲓⲟ) of the Ui Neill, besides. And they got their full demand from the foreigners, to wit, two thousand kine, with jewels and treasures, and, moreover, with the full freedom of the Ui Neill from tribute, from the Shannon to the sea. 'Tis then that Maelseachlainn proclaimed the famous rising (ⲉⲅⲉⲓⲛϧⲓ),[8] when he said, "Let every one of the Gael who is in the foreigners' territory come forth to his own country

[7] O'Donovan says that this is the first mention of a Christian Norseman in our annals. Ware thought the Norse of Dublin entered Christianity about 930, A.D. The movement towards the Faith began, no doubt, as early as the intermarriages. The first Ostman bishop was consecrated in 1054 at Canterbury, to the archbishop of which see the succeeding Ostman bishops owed obedience.

[8] ⲉⲅⲉⲓⲛϧⲓ. The Four Masters have ⲅⲟⲛ ⲙⲁⲥⲥⲁⲛⲧ-ⲉⲁⲅⲅⲁⲓⲛⲉ, *i.e.*, published a proclamation, so ⲉⲁⲅⲅⲁⲓⲛⲉ is probably the correct word.

for peace and comfort. That captivity was the Babylonian captivity of Erin. 'Twas next to the captivity of hell."[9]

In 982 Maelseachlainn, in conjunction with Gluniarn, the son of Olaf, King of Ath Cliath, raided Leinster. The presence of Gluiniarn may have been voluntary. He was closely related to Maelseachlainn; and though these relationships did not count for much in Erin, the connection would probably have been sufficient to set him moving against Leinster.[10] The intermarriages between the royal families of the Gael and the Northmen at this point are inextricably confused, and it must suffice here to say that Donnflaith, the daughter, or granddaughter, of Muirchertach of the leather cloaks, was wedded first to Domhnall, son of Donncadh, ard righ, to whom she bore Maelseachlainn II., and secondly to Olaf Cuaran, to whom she bore Gluniarn. Domhnall, the King of Leinster, was also on his side supported by a contingent of Norsemen from Waterford, under the command seemingly of Gilla Patrick, the son of Ivar. The Leinstermen were routed and Gilla Patrick slain, and many perished, "both by drowning and killing."

In 984 Maelseachlainn raided Connact, destroyed the islands (*i.e.*, Crannogs) and reduced Magh Ai to ashes.

In 990 Maelseachlainn was victorious over the men of Thomond, killing six hundred, defeated the united forces of Leinster, Munster and a Norse contingent, and took Domhnal, King of Leinster, prisoner.

In 992 he raided Connact again and took from it "the greatest *boroma* that a king had ever brought." Brian advanced with the men of Munster and Connact to L. Ennel, near Mullingar, "but he did not take a cow or a prisoner, but escaped by secret flight" on the approach of the Ard Righ.

In 996 Maelseachlainn burned Aenach Tete (Nenagh), plundered Urmumhan (E. Munster)[11] and routed Brian and the men of Munster in general. In this year too he carried

[9] Tigernach, *Rev. Celt.*, xvii., 142. (Stokes).

[10] Todd, *War of the Gael*, cxlviii.

[11] Thomond was originally confined to North Tipperary and North-East Limerick, and Urmumhan or East-Munster lay to the east of this, and is not to be confounded with the baronies of Upper and Lower Ormond, to which the name was ignorantly transferred in the usual way. Clare was afterwards added to Thomond by the Dalcais as Sword-land. Finally, according to Keating, Thomond extended from Leim Chonchulainn (Loop Head) to Bealach Mor (Ballaghmore, Upper Ossory), and from Sliabh Echtghe (Slieve Aughty) to Sliabh Ecbhlinne, now Sleibhte Feidhlimidh, in Tipperary, Leabar na gCeart, 261.

off from the foreigners of Ath-Cliath by force the ring of Tomar and the sword of Carlus.[12]

We have traced thus far an outline of the doings of Maelseachlainn during the first 14 years of his reign and shall now turn our attention to Brian. After he became King of Munster on the death of Mahon (976) he commenced by the subjugation of the Decies and took the hostages of Munster "and of the churches lest they should receive rebels or thieves into sanctuary." Ossory was next subdued and Gilla Patrick, the king, taken prisoner and forced to give hostages. Brian then marched into Leinster and took hostages from the two kings, Domhnall Claen, King of the Eastern, and Tuathal, King of the Western plain of the Liffey. This was in 984, eight years after the murder of Mahon, and he thus became King, not of Munster alone, but of all Leath Mogha. According to our annals Connact next engaged his attention. He assembled a great fleet of 300 boats on Lough Derg, rowed up the Shannon to Lough Ree, raided Meath to Uisneach, plundered Brefni (Leitrim and Cavan), and finally "did great evil" in Connacht, killing Murghes, the *rig damna*. It is noticeable that a contingent from the foreigners of Waterford was aiding him in this foray.

Maelseachlain and Brian were now face to face, and a conflict appeared to be inevitable and imminent between them. This, however, was for the time avoided, and a treaty of peace and alliance was made between them (999) at Plein Pattoigi, on the shore of Lough Ree. All hostages in the custody of Maelseachlainn, whether of Munster or Leinster, Ui Feachrach Aidhne or Ui Maine, or of the foreigners (of the South ?), were to be surrendered to Brian, and Maelseachlainn was to be recognised as sovereign of Leath Chuinln "without war or tresspass of Brian."

According to the Annals of Ulster and the Four Masters, Maelseachlainn and Brian then joined their forces and marched

[12] We extract the following particulars from Haliday:—The Gódar were princes, judges and priests. The emblem of the military jurisdiction was the sword, of the sacerdotal dignity a massive ring, usually kept in the temple of Thor, but sometimes attached by a smaller ring to the armilla of the Godi. Witnesses were sworn on the "holy" ring. There is a splendid specimen of a large ring with a small ring attached to it now in the museum of the Royal Irish Academy. It was found in Clare. The last notice of the sword of Carlus is that it was taken by Mael na-mbo in 1088. The ring was the famous "collar of gold won from the proud invader," of Moore.—Haliday, *Scand. King*, 127.

against the foreigners of Ath Cliath (998), "and carried off the hostages and the best part of their valuables from them." They do not mention the Treaty of Plein Pattoigi, the particulars as to which we have taken from *The Wars of the Gaël*. Whether these particulars are accurate or not, it is evident that some such arrangement preceded the attack on Ath Cliath. The Northmen now joined the men of Leinster and both determined to fight for freedom. Brian then marched into Leinster, where he was joined by Maelseachlainn and advanced to Glenmama, near Dunlavin, in Wicklow, on his road to Dublin. A fierce battle was fought there. The Norsemen and the Leinster men were routed with red slaughter, and the allied forces entered Dublin, and, we are surprised to hear, found there "gold, silver, and captives"—prizes of war—which they carried off. They burned the fort and expelled the King—Sitric, the son of Olaf. In the following year, however, Brian, in whose "half" the fort was situated, granted them terms of peace and took their hostages. Brian had evidently for a long time aspired to, and determined to secure, the overlordship of Erin. In furtherance of this ambition he now cemented his alliance with the Northmen by matrimonial ties. He gave his daughter in marriage to Sitric, and, according to some accounts, himself married Gormlaith, the mother of Sitric. The improbabilities of this story are, however, so great that we think it may be safely rejected as a bardic invention in connection with a romance or *ursgeul*, dealing with the cause of the Battle of Clontarf. Gormlaith was the daughter of Marchadh, the son of Finn, chieftain of Offaly, and the sister of Maelmordha, who became King of Leinster. She was married first to Olaf Cuaran, to whom she bore Sitric, and secondly to Maelseachlainn II., to whom she bore Conchobar. As her second husband was then alive she could not contract a civil or a religious marriage with Brian or anybody else. Moreover, Brian's second "one wife," Dubhcobhtaigh, the daughter of Cathal O'Connor, King of Connact, was then alive. Her death is recorded by the Four Masters at 1009, and Brian had wars enough on hands without bringing an old campaigner to Kincora to fight for the overlordship of it with his lawful wife, who, seemingly, remained with him until her death. Moreover, such an outrage would have alienated the powerful clans of the Sil Muireadhaigh, the clansmen of the "one wife," and probably provoked immediate

hostilities. The Four Masters, however, state that she was the mother of Sitric, of Donncadh, the son of Brian, and of Conchobar, the son of Maelseachlainn, and add: It was this Gormlaith that[13] took the three leaps of which it was said:—

> Gormlaith took three leaps,
> Which no woman shall take to the day of judgment.
> A leap at Ath Cliath (Olaf). A leap at Tara (Maelseachlainn),
> A leap at Cashel off the goblets higher than both (or Cáċ)
> (Four Masters, A.D. 1030).

Brian's son Donncadh had, as we shall see, an important command in 1014, and before the Battle of Clontarf was detached to plunder Leinster. If he was the son of Gormlaith he could have been then, at the most, only 13 years old. There is no evidence to which any importance can be attached that the Gaelic chieftains could put away or repudiate their wives, and marry again with religious solemnities. It is highly probable that there were in Erin, as elsewhere, marriages within the forbidden degrees, as the discipline of the Church was unsettled in the matter until the fourth Council of Lateran (1215.) There may have been more serious irregularities than the marriage of cousins amongst the foreigners in Dublin, Waterford and Limerick; but that the early Church ever sanctioned divorces *a vinculo*, or that there ever was any civil recognition of such divorces we utterly disbelieve.

Having secured the submission and alliance of the North men, Brian assembled a great force, with contingents from South Connact, Ossory, Leinster, and the Norsemen of Dublin and marched towards Tara. This was an invasion of "Conn's Hålf," and is described by our annalists as the "first turning of Brian and the men of Connact against Maelseachlainn." The main advance was preceded by a force of Norse cavalry, which was met by Maelseachlainn and cut to pieces. Brian then retreated without fighting, plundering, or burning. He then formed an alliance with the foreigners of Waterford, and organised the forces of Leath Mogha and South Connact. Against this combination and organisation, the Southern Ui Neill, unaided, were powerless; unless they were supported

[13] The *urscel* is too long to be given here. It represents Gormlaith as then installed as Queen at Kincora and inciting her brother Maelmordha to make war on Brian. It will be found in Keating (Mahony) 399. We do not think there is any suggestion of impropriety, as Todd conjectured in the use of the word "leap" here.

by the Northern Branch submission to Brian was inevitable. Maelseachlainn sent Gilla Comgall Ua Sleibhin, the Chief Bard of Ulster, to his kinsmen to appeal for help. A metrical account of his mission is given by the author of the "War of the Gael." It contains a fervid exhortation to Aedh Ua Neill, King of Aileach, and Eocaid, King of Ulidia, and Cathal, King of Connact, to rescue Tara from the grasp of Brian, and to unite the race of Eremon against the usurpation of the line of Heber. Aedh Ua Neill refused to help, and said that when the Chieftains of the North were Kings of Tara they were able to defend it without applying for external aid, and that he would not risk the lives of his clansmen for the sake of securing the sovereignty of Erin for another man. On receiving this reply, Maelseachlainn went in person to Aedh and offered to abdicate in his favour, and give him hostages. Aedh received this proposal favourably, but said it was necessary to consult his clansmen. He then summoned the Cinel Eogain to consider the proposal. The tribesmen voted unanimously against fighting the Dal Cais. Aedh then requested that the question of peace or war should be considered in secret session. It was then resolved not to accede to Maelseachlainn's request unless he would agree to cede to the Cinel-Eogain. "One half of the men of Meath, one half of the territory of Tara," *i.e.* half of the possessions of the Southern Branch. On hearing this, Maelseachlainn left in great wrath, summoned a meeting of his tribesmen, and placed the matter before them. They resolved not to cede half their territory, but to submit to Brian without fighting. Maelseachlainn then "went to the house" of Brian, made submission, and offered to give him hostages. The effect of all this was that the status of Maelseachlainn was reduced to that of a provincial King, and in the brief words of Tigernach, "Brian reigned" in his stead.[14]

A great deal of warmth has been introduced into this part of our story. Some represent Maelseachlainn and some Brian as the true patriot, who deserves our admiration and sympathy, and Brian is charged with treachery. In our view neither of them did anything which the other would not have done in his place, nor did either of them do anything which modern statecraft, as practised amongst the most civilised nations, could afford to

[14] 1001 A.D. Brian Boroma regnat. The Four Masters regard the reign as commencing in 1002 A.D.

criticise very severely. The one thing needful at the time was to proclaim the extirpation of tribalism, and to establish the brotherhood and equality of all the men of Erin. Unfortunately for Erin the chieftains were warriors rather than Statesmen, and fighting amongst themselves, they left to the future historian the melancholy duty of recording how a nation of brave men surrendered their liberty without ever fighting with their whole strength one pitched battle in its defence For this, as we shall see from this point onward, the tribalism and political incapacity of the chieftains must be held responsible. There were, however, extenuating circumstances.

CHAPTER XXI.

CLONTARF.

AFTER the submission of the Southern Ui Neill, Brian prepared for the struggle with the North. He first proceeded to Connact with the forces of Leath Mogha and the usual contingent of foreigners and obtained hostages without opposition. He then marched to Dundalk, reinforced by the men of Connact, intending to penetrate Ulster through the eastern passes. But the men of Ulster stood on guard and would not permit him to pass onwards, and he retired "without booty, spoil, or pledges." The North, however, did not remain united. Shortly afterwards a fierce contest arose between Aedh, King of Aileach, and Eocaid, King of Ulidia, and a battle was fought at Craibh Talcha in the north of Down, in which the Ulidians were routed. Eocaid, his brother, and his two sons were amongst the slain. Aedh was also amongst the slain. Brian now advanced again against Ulster as far as Ballysodare in Sligo, intending to make a royal circuit of Erin, but he was again stopped by the Ui Neill of the North, mainly by the Cinel-Conaill. He then marched to Armagh, where he stayed a week and left 20 oz of gold on the altar, and caused to be entered in the Great Book (Bibliotheca) his recognition of the claims formulated in the *Liber Angueli*. He obtained the hostages of Ulidia, and probably of all the North, except the Cinel-Conaill, but failed to make the circuit of Erin. This he accomplished in 1006, crossing the Erne at Eas Rundh, and marching through Tir-Conaill and Tir-Eogain, and crossing the Bannat Feartas Camsa (the Cutts) below Coleraine into Dalradia and Dalaradia reached Castlekieran, near Kells, about Lammas-tide. He did not, however, according to the Four Masters, succeed in obtaining the hostages of the Cinel-Conaill or Cinel-Eogain. His army then separated, "the foreigners going by sea round to their fortress." In 1011, leading the men of Munster, Leinster, and the Ui Neill of the South, *and joined by the Cinel-Eogain*, Brian invaded Tir-Conaill and carried off three hundred captives and a great prey of cattle as well as the chieftain Maelruanaidh ua Maeldoraidh in submission as a

hostage to Cenn-Coracdh. It was only after this that Brian could be regarded as an Ard Righ without opposition. But in reality his title was never admitted by the North, and they did not obey his summons to the field at Clontarf. This seems to indicate that he did not then hold their hostages. Now it must not be supposed that all the warlike energy of the time was consumed in these operations. On the contrary, there were countless raids and combats between inferior chieftains in all parts, the particulars whereof will be found in our annals. Brian now began to build numerous forts, and lifted the *boroma* "with great severity." The Leinster men, joined by the foreigners, rose against him. Brian then led the men of Munster to Sliabh Mairge, near Carlow, and plundered Leinster to the suburbs of Dublin, to which he laid siege. He remained before it until Christmas (1013), when he was forced to retire from want of provisions, intending to return in the spring. Both sides then prepared for the decisive struggle, which took place on Good Friday (1014) at Clontarf, within view of the ramparts of Ath Cliath. It was by no means a conflict between the Gael and the Northmen. The Gael were divided. The men of Ulster, Ulidia, and North Connact stood aloof. The men of Leinster and Ossory fought shoulder to shoulder with the Norsemen. So Brian had only the Dal Cais, the men of South Munster and South Connact, and, we will add, the men of Meath under Maelseachlainn, though some writers say that they stood aloof on the day of battle. The Northmen had, in addition to their Gaelic allies, large contingents from their kinsmen over sea. "The foreigners of the west of Europe," say the Four Masters, "assembled against Brian and Maelseachlainn and brought with them ten hundred men with coats of mail." Numbers even approximately exact cannot be given, but we conjecture that there were on each side from six to eight thousand fighting men. The fort of the Northmen stood on the south side of the Liffey, which flows from west to east, on the spot where now stands the Castle of Dublin. It communicated with the Fine Gall on the north side of the river by means of the "hurdle ford" and a bridge which was afterwards known as Dubhgall's Bridge. On the south side of the river the tide came up over College Green almost to the precincts of the fort. On the north side, about two miles north of the Liffey, was the little river Tolka. It now flows, roughly

speaking, from west to east under Ballybough and Newcomen Bridges into Dublin Bay. About four miles north of the Tolka, within the Fine Gall, are the Hill and Harbour of Howth, where, we suggest, the foreigners landed before advancing to attack Brian. There are no reliable materials available for giving a detailed account of the battle. We shall state briefly the conclusions, few in number, which we have drawn with much diffidence from the annals and the bardic narratives. The scene of the fighting lay between the Liffey and the Tolka, behind which the forces of Brian were marshalled, The Dal Cais and the men of South Connact held the line of the little river. The men of South Munster were next, while the men of Meath, under Maelseachlainn, lay away to the south towards Kilmainham. We are unable to accept the view that the Norsemen landed from their ships on the strand of Dublin Bay under the beard of Brian. Nor are we impressed with the importance of the fact that the full tide on Good Friday, the 24th of April, 1014 (a neap tide), coincided nearly with sunrise along the Clontarf shore and was full about 5.30 a.m., and the evening tide full at 5.55 p.m. The ships of the Norsemen carried from 50 to 100 men, say an average of 80 each, and were propelled by oars or used sails under favourable wind conditions. Thus 100 ships would carry 8,000 men, who would be all available for fighting if the ships were beached.[1] Now the foreshore between the Tolka and the Liffey is accurately described by Dalton as "an area which is at the pleasure of the tide, alternately a pool of muddy brine and a surface of oozy strand,"[2] and it does not require very deep military knowledge to understand that landing 8,000 men from 100 ships in the presence of an active and vigilant foe on such a foreshore would be a very hazardous operation, if it were at all practicable. We have very little doubt, therefore, that the Northmen made Howth their base, and advancing in suitable formation deployed on the Tolka at sunrise.* They attacked at once, pro-

[1] See, however, the interesting Report of Todd and Haughton, *Royal Irish Academy's Proceedings* (1857), 485.

[2] Dalton, *History of Dublin.*

* The *Book of Leinster* in the List of Kings states that Brian "was killed *in the Battle of the Weir of Clontarf* by the Leinstermen and the foreigners." This weir was on the Tolka, probably at Ballybough Bridge, and the battle was commonly called "Cath Coradh Cluana Tarbh,—The Battle of the Weir of Clontarf." Tarlough, the grandson of Brian, is said to have been drowned at this weir, holding in his grasp two, or some said three Norsemen, who were also drowned there. Todd, *War of the Gael*, 238, p. clxxxiv.

bably finding the enemy not quite prepared.[3] The Dal Cais and the men of South Connact (the Ui Fiachach Aidhe and the Ui Maine) were routed, with great slaughter. The men of South Munster were overthrown, and both were pursued to their respective camps, which some of the Norsemen commenced to plunder. At this juncture, whilst the Norsemen were scattered in pursuit of the beaten foe, Maelseachlainn came up with the men of Meath, from Kilmainham, and delivered his attack, probably on the flank of the disordered Northmen. It was completely successful. The Northmen were overthrown, and driven with red slaughter to their ships, in which the remnant, we may presume, escaped, as no mention is anywhere made of the ships of the Northmen having been captured by Maelseachlainn. The following is the account of the battle in the Four Masters, A.D. 1014 :—

A spirited, fierce, vengeful, and furious battle was fought between them—the like of which was not to be found in that time—at Clontarf, on the Friday before Easter (April 23rd, 1014,) precisely. In that battle were slain Brian, monarch of Erin, who was the Augustus of the West of Europe, in the 88th year of his age; Murchadh, son of Brian, *rig damna*, in his 63rd year; Conaing, son of Donncuan, Brian's brother, and Turlough, son of Murchadh, his grandson. His three companions, whom they name, were slain, and Tadg O'Kelly, lord of the Ui Maine, and Maelraonaidh Ua hEidhin (probably the brother of Brian's first wife), chieftain of Fiachrach Aidhne; the chieftains of Fermoy and Cearraighe Luachra, and the sons of the chieftain of Corca Bhaiscin, of the chieftain of the Eoganacht of Killarney, and of the chieftain of Mar, in Scotland. The forces of the Northmen *were afterwards routed* by dint of battling, bravery, and striking by Mealseachlainn, from the Tolka to Ath Cliath. It was Brodar, King of the Danes of Denmark, who slew Brian. The ten hundred in armour were cut to pieces, and at least three thousand of the foreigners were slain.

The *Annals of Innisfallen* say that Brian, with his son Murchadh, went round the army, before the battle began, with a crucifix in his left hand and a sword with a golden scabbard in his right hand, to show them that he would die along with them in fighting for them, The attack was then delivered, and Brian was killed by Brodar before he went from the battle[4] (ir fo he sin, *i.e.*, Bruadar do mart Brian rea teithe as an ccath).

[3] If Brian had anticipated an attack on that day he would undoubtedly have recalled an important detachment of his forces that was away foraging in Leinster, under his son Donncadh.

[4] O'Connor, *Rerum. Hib., II.* 671.

There fell of the Northmen, 3,012, and of the Leinstermen, 3,000.[5]

Maelseachlainn is charged with treachery on this occasion by the writers of the South. Some merely state that he withdrew his forces on the eve of the battle, while others go further and assert that he had a secret understanding with the Northmen. The mildest form of the accusation is that he abstained from giving timely help. The common-sense of mankind allows to a beaten army the privilege of grumbling and framing excuses of this kind, without, however, attaching to them any evidential value. We make no doubt the deposed ard righ would be very glad to have the chance of clearing off old scores with Brian, if he could do so with safety. A Gaelic proverb, quoted by Keating, says, "Never trust a reconciled enemy." The chance, however, did not then come to Maelseachlainn. If he had an understanding with the Norsemen, his attacking them during the fight, whilst they were victorious would be inexplicable, or, at least, highly improbable. If he had no understanding, his allowing Brian's army to be crushed

[5] From the *Annals of Tigernach*, who died 74 years (1088) after the battle, the leaf containing the entries from 1003 to 1017 is missing (*Rev. Cel.*, xvii., 354). The Four Masters refer to the *Book of Clonmacnoise*, which, no doubt, contained the entry which they reproduce, and which accords in substance with the entry in the *Annals of Ulster*. MacGeoghegan's account, one of the many "insets," as we think, in his translation, follows a panegyric on Brian, based on the bardic eulogies. Tigernach's account was probably in the *Book of Clonmacnoise*; it certainly did not escape the notice of Tadg of the Mountain, the chief annalist, who spent 15 years, as Colgan tells us, labouring indefatigably in searching our muniments.

The text of the *Annals of Ulster* runs: "Gnitir cat crodha etorra, co na fuit inntramait. Maidm iarom for Gallu 7 for Laigniu (i torais) co ruc oileξáit uile do Leith." We suggest that "i torais" should be placed in the previous sentence, so the translation would accord with the Four Masters, and read:—"A fierce battle was fought between them, the like of which was not to be found, at first—Afterwards the foreigners and Leinstermen were routed, so that they were all destroyed entirely." Hennessy does not translate iarom, which is the really important word, as opposed to i torais, at first.

With the view we present, too, accords the story told of Sitric and his wife, Brian's daughter. They stood on the ramparts of the fort, surveying the fight. "Well do the Norsemen reap the field," said he. "Many a sheaf do they cast from them." "The result," she answered, "will be seen at the end of the day." And at the close of the fight she retorted, "The foreigners," said she, "appear to me to have taken possession of their native land (Ducus)." "How so?" said he. "They are going into the sea, as is natural for them," she replied.

An admirable bardic account, spirited and highly imaginative, of the battle will be found in Dalton's *History of Dublin*, p. 71. It was prepared by O'Donovan, from the "Cath Cluanna Tarbh" chiefly, but corrected from other accounts. Brian is represented as praying in his tent during the fight, but the annals say nothing of this, and the *Annals of Ulster* state that it was in the "counterblow" of the battle he fell, which we think more likely, and more in keeping with the character of the brave old warrior. Other bardic accounts will be found in the *Wars of the Gael*, and the *Leabhar Oiris*, recently printed in *Erin*. There is also an account in the *Gaelic Journal*, Vol. V.

would expose himself to be attacked by the whole force of the victorious Norsemen, who would give no quarter to a foe who had so often worsted them. If, on the other hand, he sulked in his tent while Brian was fighting, and Brian came off victorious, he could not doubt but that hot chastisement would await him. At the bar of history Maelseachlainn therefore stands acquitted.

Brian had made a will before the battle, in which he directed that if he fell he should be buried in Armagh, thinking, no doubt, that the seat of the primacy was the proper resting place for the ard righ and *Imperator Scotorum*. So Maelmuire, the co-arb of St. Patrick, went with his clergy to Swords to meet the body, which, as well as the remains of Murchadh and Turlough, were conveyed to Armagh, and after being waked for twelve nights, with due solemnities, were laid in a new tomb in the cathedral. The other chieftains and men of rank, to the number of thirty, were conveyed to their territorial churches and interred there.

The character of Brian has been variously estimated. Some say he was a patriot statesman, others that he was an ambitious usurper. In our judgment he was neither; he was a tribal chieftain, fighting for tribal ascendancy, nothing more or less. This was the weakness of his position and the cause of his failure.

There is no reason to think that he ever formed the notion of founding an hereditary dynasty ruling in the order of primogeniture. Nor is it likely that the Dal Cais would have tolerated any such innovation. He might, no doubt, have had his eldest son made tanist in his lifetime. He, however, abstained from doing so. Probably he saw no necessity for doing so, as Murchadh would, undoubtedly, have succeeded him if he had survived. If Brian stood forth as the champion of a united Erin his first duty was to consolidate his power in Leath Mogha, and conciliate the good-will and loyalty of the South. Instead of doing this he re-imposed or certainly continued the exaction of the odious "boroma,"[6] and made the men of Leinster his deadly enemies. He was a brave warrior and a good soldier—

[6] Boroma.—According to the Brehon Law Tracts, as we have seen, the Ard Righ had no right to remit food rents, except for his own lifetime. This would, we assume, apply to a cow-rent like the *boroma*. And, in fact, Fineachta's successors enforced the payment of it frequently. Brian was thus, probably, claiming what was lawful, but not expedient.

good in organization, in strategy, and in tactics. Starting from small beginnings, he achieved, from a military point of view, success of the highest order against a rival (Maelseachlainn) who was also a singularly active and capable commander. It is fantastic to represent him as a crusader fighting for the cause of religion against the pagan Norseman. The Norsemen in Erin were his allies, when it suited him. They were largely Christian, and Brian's daughter was, as we have stated, married to Sitric. The Northmen from over sea were also to some extent Christian, and certainly came to Clontarf for hire and plunder, and not to wreak vengeance or extirpate Christianity. The works of peace attributed to Brian by the Southern panegyrists —the advancement of religion and learning, the building of churches, bridges, etc., throughout Erin, had no existence in fact. With the best intentions he could have done nothing outside Thomond, and even there he was too busy with fighting andthe preparations for fighting to have much time to spare for peaceful labours. It would, however, be unfair to brand Brian as an usurper. The ardrighship did not go by hereditary descent, nor was it until the time of Niall of the Nine Hostages that it became the appanage of a single tribe, and the monopoly of it by the Ui Neill might in the same sense be regarded as an usurpation with equal justice. Moreover, Brian was compelled to go forward in self-defence. His territory was plundered again and again, and insult was added to outrage when the venerated inauguration tree at Magh Adhair was cut down. He had no option, therefore, but to submit or fight, and in fighting for safety he was irresistibly led to fight for supremacy.

After the battle the Munster clans assembled on the green of Ath Cliath, and Donchadh, the son of Brian and his successor, who had been away foraging in Leinster, came in with a prey of twenty oxen (!) and took command. Sitric was not further molested, and the clans departed homewards. At Mullaghmast, in the south of Kildare, the Eoganachts claimed the sovereignty of Munster by alternate right, under the will of Olioll Olum, Donchadh refused, and said that Brian and Mahon had got the sovereignty by force of arms, and not by succession. A battle was imminent when the Eoganachts quarrelled amongst themselves. Cian, the son of Mulloy, claimed the whole of Munster. Domhnall, the son of Duibhdabhoirann, asked

"Why should we fight the battle; what profit do we seek from it?" "What profit dost thou seek," said Mulloy, "but to cast off the Dal-Cais?" "Wilt thou then give me an equal share of as much of Munster as we shall conquer?" said Domhnall, "That I will not give," said Cian. "On my word, then," replied Domhnall, "I will not go with thee to fight the Dal-Cais." Domhnall subsequently (1015) led an army to Limerick to attack the Dal-Cais, and was defeated by Donchadh and Tadg, who appear to have made up their quarrel. Tadg was afterwards killed treacherously by the men of Ely, Tigernach says, at the instigation of his brother, Donchadh.

The defeat of the Northmen at Clontarf had no political result of immediate importance, except the displacement of the Dal-Cais, and the restoration of Maelseachlainn. It is a mistake to suppose that it was followed by the expulsion of the Northmen. A careful examination of Tigernach, the *Annals of Ulster*, and the Four Masters shows that things quickly resumed their usual course. Maelseachlainn made royal hostings, and took hostages, and the inferior chieftains waged petty wars a few months after the battle, as if it was one of the ordinary incidents in an ordinary year. We shall not try the patience of our readers by giving details of these tribal quarrels. The names would be different, but the story would be the same as that so often told already. The position of the Northmen, however, cannot be satisfactorily explained without some illustrative extracts from our annals to correct the false impressions that have been put in circulation by the historical romances.

1015. Maelseachlainn set fire to Ath Cliath, and burned the houses outside it. He then plundered Ui Ceinselagh.

1018. Slaughter of foreigners at Odbha, near Navan.

1019. Kells plundered by Sitric, who carried off innumerable spoils and prisoners.

1020. Sitric routed at Delgany with red slaughter. The foreigners routed at Tlachtga by Maelseachlainn.

1022. Foreigners routed at sea by Ulidians.

1023. Raid by foreigners to South Bregia.

1025. Flaithbheartach Ua Neill, from Ailech, made a hosting into Magh Breagh, and carried off the hostages of the Gael from the foreigners. The men of Ossory marched to the Tolka and took hostages from the foreigners.

1027. A hosting by the foreigners and the lord of Breagh to Slievebloom, where they were defeated.

1072. (Tigernach) Diarmaid, son of Mael na-mbo (he was king at Ath Cliath) king of the Bretons, and the Hebrides, and Ath Cliath, and

Mogh Nuadhat's half, was killed by Concobar, son of Maelseachlainn in the battle of Odhba, and an innumerable slaughter of foreigners and Leinster men around him. Godfrey, the grandson of Ragnall, then became king, and was afterwards expelled from Ath Cliath by Murchadh O'Brien.

1084. Donnchadh, son of the Cailleach O'Rourke, fought Muirchertach O'Brien and the foreigners near Leixlip. 4,000 were slain, and the head of O'Ruarc taken to Louth.

1100. Muirchertach O'Brien brought a great fleet of the foreigners to Derry. They were cut off by killing and drowning.

1102 Inis Scattry was plundered by the foreigners.

1103. A hosting by the men of Erin to Ath Cliath to oppose Maghnus and the foreigners; but peace was made, and Muirchertach O'Brien gave his daughter to Sichraidh, the son of Maghnus, and many valuables and gifts.

1116. Defeat of Leinstermen by Domhnall O'Brien and the foreigners.

1119. Turlough O'Conor took the hostages of Ath Cliath, and took away the son of the King of Tara who had been in captivity there.

1127. Turlough made his son Conchobar King of Ath Cliath. He was dethroned the next year by the men of Leinster and the foreigners. He then placed another king over them, viz., Domhnall, son of Mac Faelain.

1137. The siege of Waterford by Diarmaid Mac Murrough, King of Leinster; and Conchobar O'Brien, King of the Dal-Cais, and the foreigners of Ath Cliath and L. Garman (Wexford), who had two hundred ships on the sea. They carried off with them the hostages of the Deesi and of the foreigners of Waterford.

1154. Muirchertach Mac Lochlainn went to Ath Cliath, and the foreigners submitted to him, and he gave them 1,200 cows as a "retainer" (in a tuarastal).

About this time (1154) we reach the threshold of the Angevin epoch, and events occurred of far-reaching importance to the Gael. 1152 was a memorable year. A synod was held at Kells, and probably a second at Mellifont. Eleanor of Acquitaine was divorced from her husband, Louis VII. of France, on the 18th of March, 1152, on the ground of consanguinity in the fourth degree. She had lived with him since their marriage in 1137, borne him two daughters, and brought him, as a marriage portion, the duchy of Acquitaine. After fourteen years, however, it was discovered that they were within the forbidden degrees. Louis was sixth in descent from Thibaut, Duke of Acquitaine, through Adelaide, his daughter, who was married to Hugh Capet (987-996), and Eleanor was sixth in descent from the said Thibaut through his son William *fier à bras*.[7] Two months after the divorce,

[7] *Revue des Questions Historiques*, 1890, p. 407, for Pedigrees. Martin, *Hist. France, II.*, 461.

Eleanor gave her hand and brought her duchy to Henry Plantagenet, who was crowned King of England at Westminster in December, 1154. In the following year, according to the best authorities, he received from Pope Adrian IV. the famous "Privilege," which is commonly, but inaccurately, referred to as the Bull *Laudabiliter*. This will engage our attention in a future page. For the present we shall confine ourselves to another famous event which happened in 1152—the capture, abduction, or elopement of Dearbhforgaill (Deravorgaill), the wife of Tighernan Ua Ruairc. She was the daughter of Murchadh Maelseachlainn, King of Meath; and being 44 years of age in 1152 was probably married for over twenty years to Tighernan, who was chieftain of a territory comprising, but more extensive than, the present counties of Cavan and Leitrim. In that year there was a meeting between Turlough O'Conor and Ua Lochlainn, King of Aileach, at Magh Erne, between the Erne and the Droweis, where they made friendship "upon the Staff of Jesus and the relics of St. Columba."

Turlough then proceeded into Munster, which he divided into two parts between the MacCarthys and the O'Briens. He then went into Meath, where he was joined by Ua Lochlainn and Diarmaid MacMurrough, King of Leinster. They then divided Meath into two parts, and gave Westmeath to Murchadh Ua Maelseachlainn, and East Meath to his son Maelseachlainn, the brother of Dearbhforgaill. They then attacked and defeated Tighernan Ua Ruarc, and took Conmhaiene, *i.e.*, Longford, and the southern part of Leitrim from him, and made Gillabraide Ua Ruarc chieftain of it, leaving Tighernan, we assume, the rest of the territory. All this indicates a policy of breaking up and weakening the chieftainries. It was on this occasion that the romantic elopement of O'Ruarc's wife is fabled to have taken place. A careful sifting of the evidence proves that there was no elopement and no romance. The entries in the *Annals of Ulster* from 1131 to 1155 are wanting, but the taking away of Dearbhforgaill is referred to by the continuator of Tigernach from 1088 to 1179. This is, no doubt, the earliest account that has reached us. We give it textually from the translation of Stokes.[7]

1154. The daughter of Murchadh came again by flight [an'eloð] from Leinster.

[7] *Rev. Celt.*, xvi., 171.

The annalist says nothing about an elopement, and considers that she was detained by Diarmaid. Diarmaid was in his 64th year when he carried off Dearbhforgaill.

The account in the *Four Masters* runs thus, and explains why she was carried off:—

Dearbforgaill daughter of Murchadh Ua Maelseachlainn, the wife of Tighernan Ua Ruarc, was brought away by the King of Leinster, *i.e.*, by Diarmaid, with her cattle and furniture, and he took (sent? ro fhaoi) them with her according to the advice of her brother, Maelseachlainn. There arose then a war between the Ui Bruain (the O'Rourkes and the O'Reillys of Cavan and Leitrim), and the men of Meath.

Dearbhforgaill appears to have been possessed of considerable property as her separate estate. In 1158 she gave 60oz. of gold to the clergy at the consecration of the church at Mellifont. This was a very large sum in those days. Brian Boru, as we have stated, only gave 20oz. when he visited Armagh. The cattle and furniture were probably removed for safe keeping, as hostilities were imminent, and were restored to her after she returned. The Four Masters tell us (1153) "Dearbhforgaill came from the King of Leinster to Tighernan Ua Ruarc again. An army was led by Turlogh O'Connor to meet (acoinne) Mac Murchadh, King of Leinster, to Doire Gabhlain, and he took away the daughter of Ua Maelseachlainn and her cattle from him, so that she was in the power (or protection) of the men of Meath. On this occasion Tighernan Ua Ruarc came into his house and gave him hostages."

The effect of all the entries is, in our judgment, that Dearbhforgaill was taken away for safety, and as a hostage, with the consent of her family, and that she was restored to Tighernan when he made his submission to Turlough. She died at Mellifont in 1193 in the 85th year of her age. Our annalists do not say "after a good penance." And let us charitably assume that she had nothing very serious to repent of.[8]

[8] MacGeoghegan's account is an "inset." He makes it a case of misconduct and elopement. O'Donovan in his note does not refer to the entry from the continuator of Tigernach. Ladies were sometimes taken and ransomed.

CHAPTER XXII.

THE ORGANISATION OF THE CHURCH.

IN beginning an inquiry into the organisation of the Early Church we are met at the threshold by a curious and famous script, known as the "the Catalogue of the Saints." Apart from this our progress would be easy and rapid. In the South of what is now France, where St. Patrick made his ecclesiastical studies and received his pastoral training, there was, as we have seen, an episcopal church, monasteries, and a body of solitaries, whom we may call hermits or anchorites, who were considered to excel the others in spiritual perfection. The Episcopal Church was divided into territorial dioceses, each under its own bishop; and the diocese was sub-divided into territorial parishes, each under its own pastor and his assistant priests. We should therefore naturally expect that our apostle would introduce into Ireland the system which he found established there. And this is, in our judgment, what actually took place. And first, as to the dioceses: They were certainly in most cases, and probably in nearly all, co-extensive with the several tribal territories. St. Patrick addressed himself in the first instance to the chieftains. The conversion of the king was promptly followed by the conformity of the clan. The High King of Tara, Dichu in Dalaradia; the chieftain of Tirawley, in Connact, King Aengus, at Cashel, and Daire, at Armagh, are instances, and there were, no doubt, others. We may add that this was the method which St. Columba followed with the Picts; King Brade was his first important convert. When the chieftain was secured, the Church was organised in his territory under a bishop; churches were built throughout it, and districts attached to them for pastoral duty. The church buildings were called in Gaelic, *congabala*, and sometimes, we think, also *ferta*. The church itself was often called *teach*, or *teach mor*—the great house, and when it assumed larger proportions, *teampull*. We have already quoted a passage on this point from the *Tripartite*, which, for convenience, we repeat

here:—"In this wise, then, Patrick measured the *ferta*, namely, seven score ft. in the enclosure, and seven and twenty in the great house (tig mor), and seventeen ft. in the *chule* (kitchen), and seven ft. in the *aregal, and in that wise it was he used to found the congabala always.*" Todd thinks the *tig mor* was the residence of the priests. In our opinion it was the church. It was circular, we assume; 27 ft. in diameter, and not much inferior in area to the oblong churches which were afterwards erected. The *Teampull na bFear*, in Inismurray, is only 25 ft. 6 in. in length, by 12 ft. in breadth.[1] The *chule*, 17 ft. in diameter, was, we think, "room and kitchen" in one, the residence which sufficed for the simple wants of the pioneers of the Faith. The *aregal* was, we suggest, the embryo round tower. It was a circular building 7 feet in diameter, made, possibly, in imitation of the fire-house which, we assume, existed in the ferta on the slope of Tara. It was probably built solidly of stone in most places, and used as a storehouse and a strong-hold, and was also possibly a "fire-house."

There was a *teach na teinidh*, or fire-house, in Inismurray, the existing remains of which are described by Wakeman:—"The fire-place consists of seven stones, four of which are placed on edge and set deeply in the ground, in the manner of a pagan cist. The sides face as nearly as possible the cardinal points, and are therefore not in a position coincident with the surrounding walls of the *teach*. The present walls are the most modern structure within the cashel. The area enclosed by them is oblong, 17 ft. 4 in. by 11 ft. 4 in. There is no doubt, we think, that the original walls were circular. The clachan near it, called the 'school-house,' is nearly circular, *bee-hive* in structure. The stones are unhammered, without cement or mortar. This fire-place was covered with a slab, called the *leac an teinidh*, which the natives say was broken up by the workmen employed under the Act for the Preservation of Ancient Monuments, and used in repairing the old walls. The natives all aver that here of old burnt a perpetual fire, from which all the hearths on the island which had from any cause become extinguished, were rekindled. Some say that it was only necessary to place a sod of turf on the *leac* when combustion ensued."[2]

[1] Dunraven, *Ir. Architecture*, 94.
[2] Wakeman, *Antiquities on Inismurry* (1892), p. 54.

The fire was, we infer, kept "smoored" or "raked" under the stone, and the fire tended from the side, for which purpose three of the seven stones were not fixed in the ground, but left loose. The *aregal* may have had such a fire-place, and there was probably some such *teampull na teinidh* in the *ferta* at Kildare and Tara.

The internal diameter of the Round Towers is, on the average, 9 ft.; generally something less. The internal diameter of the tower at Clondalkin, for instance, is 7 ft. 4 in. at the base and 6 ft. 6 in. at the top. The height of the *aregal* would not, we may assume, be great. The Round Towers were from 50 to perhaps considerably over 100 ft. in height, all built from the inside without scaffolding in storeys, and at different periods. The earlier towers are of rude "spawled" masonry; the later ones are of ashlar or hammered stone. The erection of a tower by Cormac ua Cillin at Tomgraney, in Clare, is mentioned in the *Chronicon Scotorum* at A.D. 964. This is the earliest notice of the building of a tower in our texts. Since Petrie, our best antiquaries are agreed that the uses of these towers were ecclesiastical in connection with the churches near which they were built, primarily—we should say—like the *aregal*, or strong-houses, as a protection for men and valuables against marauders. They were used also, when the elevation increased, as belfries and as watch-towers. And we may remark that the necessity for such strongholds existed long before the coming of the Norsemen. Churches were plundered and termons violated by the Gael themselves long before that period. Petrie fixed the date of a few of the existing towers in the fifth century. Though it should prove that none of the existing towers (about eighty in number) were older than 800 A.D. we have very little doubt that the *aregal* in some stage of development continued in ecclesiastical use from the earliest times.

To educate the priests who were to man these ramparts of the Faith, monasteries like Marmoutier, or collegiate communities, if St. Germanus's establishment may be called such, were manifestly necessary, and we accordingly find, in due course, schools established from time to time at Armagh, Moville, Clonard, Derry, Durrow, Clonmacnoise, Glasnevin, etc. But the pastoral work of the *congabala* could not have been done from these monastic centres, nor could the

parish priests and their assistants, whether they had taken vows or not, be properly regarded as cenobite monks. To illustrate these views let us take a particular instance. The present Co. Clare was occupied by three tribes, with distinct tribal lands belonging to each. Each of these was formed into a diocese. In the south-west of Clare the See Inis Scattery (Innes Cathraighe) was co-extensive with the Corca Baiscin (Eremonian). In the North the See of Kilfenora was co-extensive with the tribe-land of the Corca Modruaidh (Clanna Rury). In the centre the See of Killaloe represented roughly the tribe-land of the Dal-Cais. But the diocesan arrangement was strictly territorial, not tribal. The bishop had no jurisdiction over tribesmen outside the diocesan tribe-land. The diocese of Kilmacduagh was co-extensive with the tribe-land of the Ui Fiachra Aidhne, but the bishop had no jurisdiction over the Ui Fiachra of the Moy, men of the same tribe further north in Connact. In the same way, Annaghdown was co-extensive with Iar Connact. The tribe-land of Corca-Laidhe corresponded with the diocese of Ros Ailithre, or Ross, in the south-west of Cork. Ossory very nearly represents the tribe-land of the Ui Osraighe, and Dromore the tribe-land of the Ui Ecac-Iveagh. Others might be mentioned, and we find it stated in our texts, what the circumstances of the case suggest, that our Apostle founded a bishopric in every important tribe-land.

Three bishops for the county of Clare would appear now-a-days to be too many, and the excessive number of bishops was, at the period our history has now reached, mentioned amongst the sins of the Irish Church by foreign ecclesiastics. But it was a necessity. None of the three tribal chiefs in Clare would allow the priests in his territory to be subject to the control of the neighbouring chieftain's bishop, and would have insisted, if need were, on having a bishop of his own. Moreover, the conditions under which episcopal duties had to be performed then were very different from what they are now. There were no roads, no bridges, no railways, cycles or motor cars. The bishop made his visitations on foot, and had probably to undergo more hardship in discharging the duties of his office than a bishop would have to undergo now who was burthened with the spiritual care of the whole county.

Authorities are agreed that the number of dioceses in the early church was too great, but the figures they conjecture, vary

considerably. The lowest estimate is found in an old *duan* quoted by Keating, and is probably nearest the truth:—

> Five and fifty learned bishops
> The holy man ordained,
> And three hundred approved praying men
> On whom he conferred orders.[3]

If we take this to mean the number of bishoprics established, it seems to us to be a reasonable estimate. The names of 42 bishops are given in the Tirechan text, and the writer adds "and many more" (et alii quam plurimi). And the Four Masters state *(1111 A.D.)* that the Synod of Fiadh Mac Aengus was attended by Kellach, the coarb of St. Patrick, and Maelmure-ua-Dunain, noble Senior of Ireland (Keating calls him Archbishop of Cashel) and 50 bishops.

There was, no doubt, a full attendance of bishops at the Synod on this occasion. At the Synod of Rathbrasail the existing dioceses were reduced in number to 12 bishops, and the Primate for Leatt Chuinn, and 12 bishops, and the archbishop of Cashel for Leath Mogha—26 in all. To this number is to be added the Bishop of Dublin, whom Keating does not include, as at that time he received consecration from, and owed obedience to, Canterbury. It is to be remarked that in 1096, Anselm, then Archbishop of Canterbury, erected a new diocese by creating and consecrating a bishop for Waterford, which was only 13 miles by 9 in extent, and was left untouched in the new arrangement. This may be contrasted with the extensive diocese of Connor, over which and Down St. Malachy presided, visiting all the towns and districts of his spiritual kingdom on foot, as St. Bernard tells us. In our judgment there was no substantial alteration in the number or area of the dioceses from the time they were first fully constituted.

According to the view we present it is not necessary to open the question of chorepiscopi, or country bishops here. There is no trace in our texts of the existence or suppression of the order, as we may style them, if they ever existed in Erin. There is no word in Gaelic *distinctly* applicable to them, as in

[3] A cuig le caoga sruit easpog
Ro oirdnid incaid
Um tri ceduib cruit arnuid
Forra t-tormuig graid.
—Reeves' *Down and Connor*, 125.

the case of under kings (uppiaċ) nor is there a special honour price for them referred to.[4]

This brings us to the catalogue of the *orders* of the saints in Ireland, or as Ussher has it, "the Catalogue of the Saints." Ussher, who was the first to publish a text of it, makes it the foundation of the latter part of his "Antiquities of the British Churches." He had two texts before him, one of which may date from before the time of Jocelyn. His second text must be later than that time, as it refers to the vision of St. Patrick, described by Jocelyn in c. 175. The paragraphs 1, 2, relating to the first and second order were printed from Ussher by Colgan (II. 276). There are two other texts, one is published by Fleming in his *Collectanea*, and another, which follows Fleming's text very closely, is found in the *Codex Salmanticensis*. Both these texts refer to the vision described by Jocelyn, and must therefore be of subsequent date. Ussher's text, with the variants of Fleming, is published in Haddon and Stubbs, II. 292. For these and other reasons we shall give the text from the *Cordex Salmanticensis* with our translation. Great weight has been attached to this catalogue from the time of Ussher to our own day. Reeves calls it a most ancient and valuable authority. Lanigan, Todd, Olden, and last but not least, Archbishop Healy, were impressed with its palmary importance. We do not share these views; to speak our whole thought, we do not consider it of any evidential value, and must therefore, to explain our views, examine it in some detail, after we have given the translation and text. We shall give verbatim the recension of the Bollandist Editors, who have recently published a beautiful edition of the Codex at the request and at the expense of the late Marquis of Bute.[5]

The Codex from which the Bollandist text was taken was sent from Salamanca by Thomas Bryan, the Jesuit Father who was the rector of the Irish College there about the year 1620 or 1625, to a Jesuit Father who presented it to Rosweyd, who first conceived the idea of publishing the *Acta*

[4] "Benterim tries to show that these rural bishops were real bishops. Airgusti is of the same opinion. Thomassin makes two classes of chorepiscopi, of whom one were real bishops and the other only had the title without consecration. As late as the 5th century we meet with very many real chorepiscopi in the towns and villages of Africa."—Hefele ii. 322.

[5] *Acta Sanctoram Hiberniæ* ex codice Salmanticensi nunc primum integre edita opera Caroli de Smedt et Josephi de Backer, S.J., 1888.

Sanctorum, and was then collecting documents for the celebrated Bollandist *Bibliotheca*. It is written in a hand of the 14th century, neatly but very inaccurately. There is nothing in the Codex, nor do the learned editors in the preface, from which we have taken the few facts above mentioned, state anything, about the authorship of the Catalogue.

The Codex contains the lives of about forty Irish Saints, including the life of St. Malachy by St. Bernard. It also includes the miracles of St. Laurence O'Toole, and a life of St. Catherine of Alexandria. It was placed at the disposal of Colgan by the Bollandists and used by him when writing his *Acta SS. Hiberniæ.*

CATALOGUE OF THE ORDERS OF THE SAINTS.

"Here begins the catalogue of the Orders of the Saints in Hibernia according to different periods:—

"[432—543.]

"(1) The first Order of the Saints was in the time of Patrick, and then all the bishops, 350 in number, were famous and holy and full of the Holy Spirit. They were founders of churches, worshipped one head, Christ, and followed one leader, Patrick. They had one tonsure, one celebration of Mass, and celebrated one Easter, namely, after the vernal equinox. And what was excommunicated by one church all excommunicated. They did not object to having women as house-keepers and companions (mulierum administrationem et consortia non respuebant), because founded on the rock, Christ, they did not fear the wind of temptation. This Order of Saints lasted through four reigns; to wit, from the time of Laoghaire, the son of Niall, who reigned thirty-seven years; and Olioll, styled Moll, who reigned thirty years; and Lughaidh, who reigned seven years; and this Order of Saints lasted to the very end of Tuathal Maelgarbh, and all remained throughout holy bishops, *and these were, for the most part, Franks and Romans and Britons and Scots by birth.*[6]

"[543—599.]

"(2) The second Order of Saints was like this. In this second Order now there were few bishops and many priests,

[6] Ussher has "Catholic" before Saints, and the length of the reigns is not given. Fleming omits "Catholic," and has the regnant years, and gives the number as 430. The words italicised are in Ussher, but are omitted in Fleming.

300 in number. They worshipped one head, God, and had different rituals (ritus) of celebration and different rules of living, and celebrated one Easter; to wit, the 14th of the moon. And they made a uniform tonsure from ear to ear. They shunned having women as companions and house-keepers (consortia et administrationes fugiebant), and excluded them from the monasteries. This Order lasted for four reigns also (ad huc?); to wit, from the end of Tuathal Maelgarbh and through the thirty years in which Diarmaid Mac Cearbhael reigned; and through the time of the two grandsons of Muredach, who reigned seven years; and during the time of Aedh, the son of Ainmire, who reigned thirty years. Those (saints) received the ritual of celebrating Mass from holy men of Britain; to wit, from Saint David and Saint Gildas and Saint (Ca) doc. And their names are these; to wit, Finnian, Endeus, Colman, Congal, Aedh, Kiaran, Columba, Brendan, Brechen, Cainech, Caemgin, Laisrean, Laisre, Lugeus, Barrideus, and many others, who were in the second grade of the saints.[7]

"[599—666.]

"(3) The third Order of Saints was like this. Now they were holy priests and few bishops, 100 in number, who used to dwell in desert places. They lived on vegetables and water and on the alms of the faithful, and held all earthly things of no account, and wholly shunned back-biting and slander. These had different rules (of living) and different rituals of celebration, and also different tonsures, for some had the coronal tonsure and some the hair. And they had a different Paschal solemnization, for some celebrated on the 14th and others on the 13th moon. This Order lasted through four reigns; that is, through the time of Aedh Alair, (*recte* Slaine), who reigned only three years; and through the time of Domhnall, who reigned thirty years; and through the times of the sons of Maelcoba and (*recte* the sons of) Aedh Slaine. And the Order lasted up till that great mortality (A.D. 666). And their names are—Petran, bishop; Ultan, bishop; Colman, bishop; Edan, bishop; Lomnan, bishop; Senach, bishop. These were all bishops, and many more. And these now were the priests—Fechan, priest; Airendan, Failan, Commian, Ernan, Cronan, and many other priests.

[7] The names are quite different in the three rescensions.

"(4) Note that the first Order was holiest, the second very holy, the third holy. The first glows, like the sun, with the heat of charity; the second, like the moon, sheds a pallid light; the third shines with the bright hues of the dawn.

"Taught by a revelation from on high, Patrick understood that those three Orders (were signified) when he beheld in that prophetic vision all Ireland filled with a fiery flame, then the mountains alone aglow, and afterwards lamps gleaming in the valleys. This is extracted from an old life of Patrick.[8]

"(5) Note these are the names of the disciples of St. Finnian of Clonard; to wit, two Kierans (Kieran the son of the artificer and Kieran of Saighir); Colomba, the son of Crimthan and Columkille; two Brendans, that is Brendan the son of Finlog and Brendan of Birr; Mobhi Claireneach; Lasrian, the son of Nadfraech; Sinell, the son of Maenach; Cainnech, the son of the grandson of Dalann and Ruadhan of Lorrha; and Nimidh (?) of the Red Hand; Mugenoe of Cillcimel (?); and Bishop Sinach."[9]

Incipit catalogus ordinum Sanctorum in Hybernia secundum diversa tempora:—

(1) Primus ordo sanctorum erat in tempore Patricii. Et tunc erant episcopi omnes clari et sancti et spiritu sancto pleni, cccl numero, ecclesiarum fundatores, unum caput Christum colentes et unum ducem Patricium sequentes unam tonsuram habentes, et unam celebrationem missae, et unum pascha scilicet, post equinoctium vernale celebrabant, et quod excommunicatum esset ab una ecclesia omnes excommunicabant. Mulierum administrationem et consortia non respuebant, quia super petram Christi fundati ventum temptationis non timebant. Hic ordo, sanctorum per quatuor duravit regna hoc est a tempore Leodhgarii filii. Neyl qui regnavit xxx^ta^ vii. annis et Ayllelli cognomentoMolt qui xxx^ta^ annis regnavit, et Lugdech qui vii annos regnavit. Et hic ordo sanctorum usque ad tempora extrema Tuathal Meylgarb duravit. Suncti episcopi omnes permanserent et hi pro magna parte erant Franci et Romani et Britones et Scoti genere.

(2) 2us vero ordo sanctorum talis erat. In hoc enim secundo ordine pauci erant episcopi et multi presbiteri numero ccc^i^. Unum caput

[8] One Ussherian text, instead of paragraph 4, has simply—"The first (Order) glowed like the sun, the second like the moon, the third like the stars. Primus sicut sol ardescit, secundus sicut luna, tertius sicut stellae."

[9] The statement that the 2nd order had different masses, etc., and introduced a ritual from the British Church, we do not accept as probable or proven. The history of the Paschal controversy and the tonsure shows, as we shall see in a future chapter, that the Gael were obstinately conservative in such matters. The liturgical aspect of the question, which is very important, we must leave to better equipped critics to deal with. A very interesting tract on the various liturgies will be found in Cardinal Moran's Essays, p. 242. See Healy's *Insula Sanctorum et doctorum*, p. 201.

Deum colentes diversos celebrandi ritus habebant et diversas regulas vivendi, et unum Pascha, scilicet xiiii[a] luna celebrabant. Et hi uniformem tonsuram, scilicet ab aure usque ad aurem, faciebant. Mulierum quoque consortia ac administrationes fugiebant atque a monasteriis suis eas excludebant. Hic ordo per quaterna adhuc regna duravit, scilicet ab extremis Tuathal Maylgairb temporibus et per triginta annos quibus Dermicius Mac Keirbaill regnavit et per tempus quo duo nepotesMureadaytur qui vii annis regnaverunt et per tempus quo Aed Mac Aynmerach qui xxx[ta] annis regnavit. Hi ritum celebrandi missam acceperunt a sanctis viris de Britannia, scilicet a sancto David et sancto Gilda et a saneto Doco. Et horum nomina sunt hec scilicet Finnianus, Endeus, Colmanus, Congallus, Aedeus Queranus, Columba, Brandanus, Brichinus, Caynecus, Caymginus, Laysrianus, Laysrius, Lugeus, Barrideus, et alii multi qui erant de secundo gradu sanctorum.

(3) 3us ordo sanctoram erat talis. Erant enim illi presbiteri sancti et pauci episcopi numero c, qui in locis disertis habitabant. Hi oleribus et aqua et eleemosinis fidelium vivebant et omnia terrena contempnebant et omnem susurrationem et detractionem penitus evitabant. Hi diversas regulas et varios celebrandi ritus habebant et diversam etiam tonsuram; aliqui enim habebunt coronam, aliqui cesariem. Et hii diversam solempnitatem Paschalem habebunt; alii enim xiiii[la] a luna alii xiii[la] celebrabant. Hic ordo per quatuar regna duravit hoc est per tempus Edaallain, qui tribus annis tantum regnavit et per tempus Domhnalli qui triginta annis regnavit et per tempora filiorumu Moylcoba et per tempus Eda Slane et hic ordo usque ad mortalitatem illam magnam perduravit. Quorum nomina sunt hec Pertranus episcopus, Ultanus episcopus, Colmanus episcopus, Edanus episcopus, Lompnanus episcopus, Senachus episcopus, Hii episcopi omnes et alii plures. Hii vero presbiteri: Fechinus, presbiter, Ayrendanus, Faylanus, Commenianus, Colmanus, Ernanus, Cronanus et alii presbiteri plures.

(4) Nota quod primus ordo erat sanctissimus, secundus sanctior, tertius sanctus. Primus sicut sol in fervore caritatis calescit, 2us sicut luna pallescit, 3us sicut aurora splendescit. Hos tres ordines beatus Patricius superno oraculo edoctus intellexit cum in visione illa prophetica vidit totam Hyberniam flamma ignis repletam deinde montes tantum ardere, postea lucernas ardere in vallibus conspexit. Haec extracta sunt de antiqua vita Patricii.

(5). Nota Hec sunt nomina discipulorum sancti Finneani Cluana Hyrard videlicet duo Kyerani, Kyranus filius artificis et Kyeranus Saigre, Columba filius Crimthainn et Columkyille, duo Brendani id est, Brendanus filius Finloga, et Brendanus Birra, Mobhi Clarinetur, et Lasrianus filius Naturfrec, et Synell filius Maenaci et Cainnecus filius Nepotis Dalann, et Rudan Lothra, et Nannyd Lamderc, et Mugenocur Killi Cumili et episcopus Senach.[10]

The codex from which the foregoing was printed was endorsed by the Bollandist editors

[10] *Acta SS. Hib. ex. cod. Salm.*, p. 161.

"MS. SALMANTICENSE DE SS. HIBERNIÆ. II"

A general view of the catalogue reveals some startling statements. In the first paragraph we are asked to believe that in the time of St. Patrick there were 350 or 450 bishops and that all these bishops were saints. That there ever were at any time in any country during the life of one man 350 bishops all saints, the clergy themselves would, we fancy, be the last to credit. We do not lay much stress on the exaggerated figure as to *bishops*, we regard it as merely a monastic way of saying that the number was excessively large. A recent writer (Sir J. Ramsey), suggests that all monastic estimates should be divided by ten. The excessive multiplication of saints, however, not only in this text but in many others, is more serious. It has prejudiced the claims of the many real saints to official recognition in Rome. Only two Gaelic Saints were ever canonized—St. Malachy and St. Laurence O'Toole. A very limited number in addition, principally the patron saints of dioceses, were accorded a defined ecclesiastical position towards the end of the last century. The principal reason for the omission was the magnitude of the number and the looseness of the evidence.[12]

[11] Fleming has some valuable and interesting pages on this catalogue. He states that about the year 1626, the Rev. Francis Matthew, the Warden of their college and lately Provincial, had got copies made of the lives of very many of the Irish Saints from two MS. parchment volumes, one belonging to Armagh or Dublin, and then in the library of Ussher, and the other belonging to the Island of all the Saints (in L. Ree). As we understand him, Fleming found in the copy codex several Lives, one of St. Patrick by "an old and trusty" writer, from which he quotes verbatim a Catalogue of the Orders of the Saints, corresponding substantially to paragraphs 1, 2, 3 and 4 of the *Codex Salmanticencis*. He does not give or suggest the name of the "old and trusty" writer. He adds afterwards (432, col. 2), a paragraph which corresponds substantially with the vision paragraph (5) of the *Codex Salmanticencis*. There is no authority for the statement made by Dr. O'Connor that the catalogue was composed by Tirechan. There are no precise data to fix an approximate date for its composition. If the "copy Codex" referred to by Fleming is in the archives of the Franciscan Convent in Dublin further light may be thrown on the subject. The fact that the catalogue stops at 666 A.D. is not of much weight, as the Collection of Lives in which it appeared may have stopped at that time, and the writer certainly lived some centuries later, on the most favourable view, and did not bring the prècis up to his own time. Flemingius P. *Collectanea*, 430. The catalogue is probably an expression of Jocelyn's vision.

[12] Francis Harold wrote a life of his uncle, Luke Wadding (1588-1667). It is very interesting, written in good style and excellent Latin, worthy to rank with the conferences of Cassian. He mentions that Wadding, then a man of powerful influence at Rome, used it successfully, apparently with some difficulty, to obtain permission for a special Antiphon verse and prayer for the Universal church in honor of St. Patrick on his feast at the Irish foundations in Rome and near it. He then endeavoured to obtain a like privilege for the other two patrons of Ireland, St. Columba and St. Bridget, but died before he had succeeded, and it was not granted at that time. *Vita Annales Minorum* (ed. 1731), Vol. I., cxxii.

At the end of the Life of Giraldus of Mayo, the Bollandists after quoting from the Litany of Aengus, "The 330 saints, with Gerald, bishop, and the 50 saints of Leyney, in Connact, who dwelt in the monastery of Mayo, I invoke, through Christ, &c.," add :—"The Irish would not have been so liberal in canonising in troops their dead, who had shown more than ordinary virtue, if they had observed the practice of the Universal Church, which conferred the honour only on martyrs. But as to those who had not been known to have won the prize of martyrdom, their lives were examined singly: their early, middle, and closing years, and the miracles that accompanied or followed; and severally and singly, were added to the number of those who may be ritually invoked, either by Pontifical decree or by the common voice of a Christian people, induced by evident and frequent miracles, to form a sure belief in the 'saintship' of the individual."[13] This rule the Irish in their 'pious simplicity' did not observe, and the word 'saint' in their authors should be held to be equivalent to 'of pious memory,' of 'happy recollection,' or 'servant of God.'

This question of the Irish saints is so important that we must pursue it further. We venture to suggest that the inferences that have been drawn from the Litany of Aengus should be reconsidered and modified. An examination of it in connection with the Epilogue to the Feilire, the Litany of the Blessed Virgin and the Scuap Chrabhaegh (Broom of Piety) of Colcu, reveals, we think, that reference was made to these *troops* for a special purpose, without any intention of claiming for all the members of the troop the rank and veneration due to saints of the Catholic Church. Colcu was *Ferleighen*, probably professor of theology, at Clonmacnoise, the tutor and friend of Alcuin, and died in 792 A.D. His litany or prayer is divided into two parts. "The first consists of 28 petitions or paragraphs, each beseeching the forgiveness and mercy of Jesus, through the intercession of *some class* of the holy men of the Old or New Testament."[14]

Again Aengus, in the Epilogue to the Feilire, states that he laid under contribution for the Feilire, "the vast tome of Ambrose Hilary's pious *sensus*, Jerome's *Antigraph*, Euse-

[13] Boll, *Acta, SS.*, xi., 288 (March 13).

[14] Colgan says of the *Scuap* : "Est fasciculus ardentissimarum precum per modum quodammodo Litaniarum."

bius' martyrology, and Erin's host of books."[15] "Lest, however," writes Archbishop Healy, "any might be jealous for being omitted, he invokes them in the third part (the epilogue) under certain general heads, patriarchs, prophets, virgins, martyrs, etc., so that not a single one of the heavenly orders, at home or abroad, can complain of the want of some reference to his or her memory."[16] As regards the saints of the Old Testament, it was a prominent teaching found, for instance, in Callia, that the Lord, after the Passion, took up to heaven a multitude of saints, who had been waiting for the redemption.

The script known as the Litany of Aengus has reached us, in the *Book of Leinster* (1150 c.), and in the *Leabhar Breac*. It is imperfect in the latter and, as we think, also in the former. It is contained in the "Isidore Leaves," which formed part of the *Book of Leinster*, were missing from it, found in St. Isidore's, Rome, and are now in the Franciscan Convent in Dublin. They are printed in the facsimile pp. 355 of the *Book of Leinster*.[17]

On examining the text of the Litany in the *Book of Leinster* we find that it consists of groups of bishops, priests, pilgrims, anchorites, monks, martyrs, innocent youths, Romans, Gauls, Saxons, and Egyptians; disciples with Manchan; the twelve men who went beyond the sea with Rive; the descendants of Corra, with their seven companions; the persons who went with St. Patrick to Mount Armoin (?), etc., etc.; and finally the text ends with 141 groups of seven bishops each, each group having a "place-name" (*e.g.*, of Ardpatrick) attached to it, meaning who were buried there. In the *Ecclesiastical Record* text the writer places after the first and succeeding groups the words of invocation, *All these I invoke unto my aid through Jesus Christ.* The writer states he collated the text in the Isidore Leaves, *i.e.*, in the *Book of Leinster*, with the text in the *Leabhar Breac*, and heads his translation, "From the

[15] Stokes, *Feilire*, cxcii.

[16] *Insula Sanctorum*, 411. The author gives his preference to the date 801 A.D, for *Feilire*. Stokes would have it a century or more later. But this view rests mainly on linguistic forms, an insecure foundation, in our judgment, in a period of transition from the Old to the Middle Gaelic.

[17] On the intricate and obscure subject of the texts, see Atkinson, Pref. to the *Book of Leinster*.

The *Leabhar Breac* wants at the beginning ten or twelve groups of saints.

A text is given in the 3rd vol. (1867) of the *Eccl. Record Ir.*, pp. 385, 468, with a translation, to which we shall refer.

Book of Leinster."[18] This is inaccurate, and a very serious inaccuracy. It is only at the ninth or tenth group in the *Book of Leinster* that we find words of invocation or rather letters representing words, viz., *All these whose names are written in Heaven*[19] *I invoke to my aid* (hos omnes quorum nomina scripta sunt in cœlis invoco ad auxilium meum). This was, we suggest, a short form for a longer form in the first part of the Litany, which is now wanting, in which it was made clear somehow, as by the words "per Christum" that it was their intercession that was asked for. If the Litany originally commenced with the first group in the present text, we should expect to find the full invocation there. And, further, in the *Book of Leinster* we find the first nine or ten groups followed by another series of groups, and these followed by the words or letters *per Jesum* only, which clearly refer to a complete invocation not now found in the existing text. It is also very persuasive proof that the text is imperfect in the *Book of Leinster*, as well as in the *Leabhar Breac*, that no appeal is made to the three patron saints of Erin, nor to the Finnians, Brendans, Congall, Ciaran, Columbanus, etc. It seems to us incredible that all these great national saints should have been omitted from such a Litany. We suggest that the groups were preceded by an enumeration of the great saints singly, and that the groups were added *ex majori cautela*, as they were in the *Feilire*, lest there should be any saints "whose names were written in the Heavens" left unnoticed. It is quite possible that Ward found something of the sort in the texts before him. His observations point, we think, to an enumeration of names singly. An invocation after each group without names would not assist him in making a list of saints of the same name and surname., which was the object he had in view. He writes:—

When I had almost finished making a list of the saints of the same name and surname . . . there came from the brethren in the Convent in Donegal in Ireland a manuscript copy of a codex, the parchment and writing of which were so eaten away (and obliterated) by time that in places it could not be read, and betokened an age of at

[18] The heading of the Gaelic text on the opposite page is, we are surprised to find, "Slecht Leabhar Aedha Moic Crimthain inso sis—An extract from the *Book of Aedh Mac Crimthain* down here," which explains a good deal. This is not the *Book of Leinster* text. *Ecc. Rec.*, 1869, p. 390.

[19] This would exclude the members of the group whose names were not written in Heaven.

least 700 years, which was confirmed by the fact that the author omitted the saints of that age, though they would have answered his purpose as well as those more ancient whom he enumerates as often, repeating these words in Latin—*quorum nomina scripta in cœlis hos omnes invoco ad auxilium meum, i.e.*, "whose names have been written in Heaven, all those I invoke to aid me."[20]

Regarding the *Consortia Mulierum*, the Rev. Mr. Olden takes a very different view of the meaning of this sentence from ours. *Consortium*, he thinks, is not equivalent to *societas*, but has a technical meaning "signifying the association of a woman vowed to perpetual chastity with an ecclesiastic, both occupying the same house and living together as brother and sister." In the Eastern church, he says: "Such unions were known as *συνείσακται ἀγαπηταί* and *ἀδελφαί* in the West as *consortes* (hence *consortium*) *mulieres subintroductae* and perhaps more generally as *sorores*. . . The Council of Nicaea passed a canon against *consortium*."[21]

The 3rd canon of the Council of Nicaea (325) forbade any bishop or other cleric to have in his house a *συνείσακτος* (subintroducta) that is any woman living in the house with him, unless his mother, sister, aunt, or such other person as was free from all suspicion. Hefele observes on this canon "In the first ages of the church some Christians, clergymen and laymen, contracted a sort of spiritual marriage with unmarried persons so that they lived together, but there was not a sexual but a spiritual connection between them for their mutual spiritual advancement. They were known by the name of *συνεισάκτοι ἀγαπηταὶ* and *sorores*. That which began in the spirit, however, in many cases ended in the flesh, on which account the church very stringently forbade such unions, even with penalties more severe than those with which she punished concubinage, for it happened that Christians who would have recoiled from concubinage, formed one of those

[20] As Ward's book is very rare, we quote a short extract:—Dum in obstupenda hac multitudine sanctorum ejusdem nominis cognominis etc., colligendi versarer pene actum, agere videbar ubi exemplar . . isdam MS. Codicis a Dungallensis Monastarii fratribus in Hibernia supervenit . . ustate ita corosa etiam cum characteribus membranea ut alicubi legi nequiverit . . septem saltem sæculorum antiquitatem præferat si præsertim consideret . . authorem omisisse sanctos hujus ætatis quanquam ad institutum ejus aeque fa . . ent atque antiquiores quos recensuit *et toties repetitis his verbis Latinis* "quor. nomina scripta sunt in cœlis hos omnes invoco ad auxilium meum." H. W d (Vardeus) *Acta S. Rumboldi*, 204. Colgan refers to the Litany, *Acta SS. I*,. 581.

[21] Proc. Ry. Ir. Acad. (1893) vol. III. 3d Ser. p. 415 on the *Consortia* 1st Order of the Irish Saints.

spiritual unions, and in doing so, fell."[22] We are not aware of any text in which *consors* simply, *i.e.*, without a context, is used as equivalent to *soror* or *consortia* simply used to designate these spiritual unions.

The case of bishop Mel of Ardagh which he cites, appears to us to be decisive against the Rev. Mr. Olden's views. The bishop and his (*siur*) his kinswoman, or, as Mr. Olden suggests, his spiritual sister, "used to be in one habitation praying to the Lord." Scandal was given by this, which rumour carried to the ears of Saint Patrick. He went, forthwith, to Ardagh, and inquired into the matter. "Then Patrick knew that there was no sin between them, but said: 'Let men and women be apart so that we may be found not to give opportunity to the weak, and so that by us the Lord's name be not blasphemed, which be far from us.' And thus he left them with Brith Leith between them; she in Druim Chea to the west of Bri Leith and he to the east of it in Ard Acha (Ardagh).[23]" We do not think a spiritual union is referred to here, but if the relation was such, it was promptly stamped out by the Saint. Surely it is not conceivable that 350 saints, or any number of them, should be living openly in contumacious defiance of the canons and anathemas of an Œecumenical council.

[22] Hefele *Councils* (Clark) vol. I. 380.
[23] *Trip. Life* 91.

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CHAPTER XXIII.

THE MONKS.[1]

MONACHUS, Solitarius, Monk, signified originally a man who lived by himself, alone, solitary, retired from the world (*ἀναχωρήτης*), a dweller in the desert, a hermit (*ἐρημίτης*). When the monks or solitaries, of whom the most celebrated was Paulus in Egypt, were trained in the ways of a common life, under an abbot, by St. Antony (264-356), the essential principles of monasticism, as it afterwards came to be known in the West, were solidly established. Sexual solitariness was secured by the vow of chastity, which, as understood, excluded the marriage tie. Living under the rule of an abbot implied the vow of obedience, which involved the renunciation of the individual will in all things not contrary to God's law. One would have expected when the monasteries multiplied and the monks came to be reckoned by thousands in Egypt, that a rule would be drawn up, not only for ordering the internal discipline in each monastery, but also for the common government and control of all collectively. But St. Antony refused to write a rule for his disciples; he said that the precepts of the Gospel were sufficient. Macarius (394) however is regarded by some as the author of the rule which bears his name. When he went into the Nitrian region, the mountain on its western extremity was filled with solitaries, and grouped

[1] This chapter deals only with cenobite monks and with the recognised rules and "use" of community life. The special austerities of individuals, whether recluses, incluses (we believe there were none in Erin), or cenobites, do not come within the scope of this chapter. Compared with what we may call hermit life in France and Italy, they present no feature of exceptional severity. We give a few dates here for the founding of the following monasteries, which are at least approximately correct :—

A.D. 270,	The Thebaid, St. Anthony ...	250-356
„ 320,	Tabenisi (Tabenna), St. Pachomius,	285-345
„ 363,	Metaza Pontus, St. Basil, 329 ...	329-379
„ 374,	Marmoutier, near Tours, St. Martin,	316-337
„ 410,	Lerins (S. Honorat), St. Honoratus,	+ 429
„ 410 (*c.*),	St. Victor, near Marseilles, Cassian,	360-456
„ 490,	Arles Monastery at, St. Caesarius ...	468-542
„ 529,	Monte Cassino, St. Benedict ..	480-543
„ 563,	Iona, St. Columba, ...	524-597
„ 596,	Luxeuil, St. Columbanus ..	540-613

around him in the eastern part of the district of the Natron lakes (in which was in after time the famous city of *Scete*, about 43 miles west of Cairo), arose thousands of cells of solitaries whose lives were devoted to labour and prayer and fasting and vigils. They slept, ate, and worked alone, but met at stated times for prayer. They fasted not only from food, but what was still more trying, from sleep. Herbs and roots, salt and water, supplied the necessaries of life. A little bread constituted a feast. Their labour was well organised and almost incessant. They wove mats from the reeds which grew in the district, and procured by the sale of them all that they required. They were not bound to this common life, if it can be called such, and they frequently passed into the hermit life, which was considered holier. Up to this time there were collections of so-called rules,[2] which contained valuable precepts, but there was no body of rules purporting to be a code or constitution for monastic government. It was not till the time of Pachomius (292-348) that community life proper—what is now known as monastic life—began. Pachomius was at first a soldier in the Roman army. After his conversion he offered himself as a disciple to Palemon, who had been a disciple of St. Antony. Palemon at first refused to receive him. "My food," said he, "is bread and salt; I abstain from wine altogether; I watch half, sometimes the whole night, praying and reading the Divine Word." Pachomius said he was prepared for this, and Palemon then consecrated him to God, with the monk's habit (*habitu monachi eum consecravit*), and laid upon him the injunction "to labour and to watch" (*labora et vigila*). Later on Pachomius founded the celebrated monastery of Tabenna, or *Tabenisi* (the Palms of Isis),[3] on an island in the Nile. His rule, known as the Angel's rule,[4] is given in the 22nd chapter of the *Life of Pachomius*, by an unknown author,

[2] Collected in Migne, vol. 100.

[3] Tabenna is an island near Keneh and Denderah, 414 miles by river, south of Cairo, and 40 north of Luxor, or Thebes. The territory of Thebes, the Thebaid, normally extended from Hermopolis Magna, 180 miles south of Cairo, to Syene (Assouam), 590 miles from Cairo. This Thebais Palladius divides into Upper Thebais, from Syene (Assouam) to Lycopolis (Assiont) and Lower Thebais, from Assiont to Cairo. Later writers commonly adopt this division. Lower Egypt extended, according to this division, from Cairo (the Pyramids) to the sea. From Syene to the sea is 520 miles.

[4] Legend said that an angel first brought it, written on bronze tablets. This must be taken as an oriental way of saying that it was divinely inspired. Migne, vol. 28, p. 59.

supposed to be a contemporary, and was translated into Latin by Dionysius Exiguus. It runs (in part) as follows :—

> You shall permit each to eat and drink according to his strength, and compel him to labour in proportion to what he eats, and shall not prevent any from eating in moderation or from fasting (*i.e.*, at his choice). You shall impose heavier work on the strongest and those that eat; lighter on those that are weaker and fast. Let each be clothed at night with a linen tunic, girdled. You shall make separate cells and ordain that three shall remain in each cell. Let each have a *melotes* (*i.e.*, a white dressed goat-skin), without which let him neither eat nor sleep. However, when approaching the Sacraments of Christ, let him undo his girdle and lay aside his *melotes*, and wear only his cowl (*cuculla*).

Then came a command as to distributing the monks. He divided the brethren into regiments, numbered with the letters of the alphabet, "i," the simplest, representing the untrained, and "ξ," the most complicated, representing the most forward and disciplined.

They should remain permanently (*jugiter*) in the monastery and labour with their hands for three years before entering on more sacred studies. Each when eating should cover his head, not look at his neighbours, and keep silence. He was to say twelve prayers in the day, twelve in the evening, and twelve at night. Additional prayers might be said in the cells by the more perfect. This rule, as it was afterwards completed by Theodorus and Orsisius, St. Jerome translated into Latin from a Greek version, in 401 A.D., prefixing a short but very interesting preface. There were then numerous monasteries in the deserts of the Thebaid. Each monastery consisted of thirty or forty houses (*domus*) under an overseer (*praepositus*); each house consisted of thirty or forty brethren, and three hundred and four houses made a tribe (*tribus*). The brethren of the same craft occupied the same house. Thus, the linen-weavers, the mat-weavers, the tailors, carpenters, fullers, sandal-makers, were governed separately, each by an overseer. Accounts of the work done were rendered weekly to the "Father" of the monastery. These accounts and the accounts of the sales of the articles made in each monastery were submitted for audit to the high steward (*oeconomus*) of all the monasteries once a year.

Two general assemblies were held every year in August and at Easter, at which all the brethren not absolutely required at the monasteries attended—to the number, St. Jerome says, of

50,000. This seems almost incredible. After Pachomius removed his residence from Tabenisi to the more central monastery at Peboou, the meetings took place there. He remained superior-general of all the monasteries till his death, before which he designated his successor, who designated his successor in like manner.[5] And so Schnoodi in the following century designated or appointed Visa to succeed him. The superior-general appointed the heads of the daughter houses, and changed them about at his discretion; was in fact a spiritual autocrat. To anticipate a little, we may mention here that Columba named or designated Baethin as his successor, and the superiors of the affiliated monasteries received their charge from him. The succeeding abbots of Iona—it is not clear whether they were designated or elected—were confined to St. Columba's kindred until the 11th abbot.[6]

Cassian bears the following testimony as to the discipline he observed at Tabenna:—"The monastery of the monks of Tabenna in the Thebaid is better fitted as regards numbers, as it is more strict in the rigour of its system than all others, for there are in it more than 5,000 brethren under the rule of one abbot; and the obedience with which the whole number of monks is at all times subject to one elder, is what no one among us would render to another even for a short time or demand from him."[7]

Before leaving the Egyptian monasteries a further remark may be appropriate. There are those who regard their strenuous asceticism and that of the kindred Gaelic institutions as useless or bordering on insanity. They do not reflect that, as in the case of bodily infirmities, the physic that cures one generation will not in many cases cure the next, and will be displaced by a drug suited to altered conditions of life, so in the spiritual order spiritual remedies must be varied from age to age. We deem it fitting to quote, for the enlightenment of these critics, the following testimony of Sozomen, a Greek lawyer who wrote in the first half of the 5th century:—

"The monasteries of Egypt were governed by several individuals of

[5] Migne, vol. 23, p. 64. The above is the view of Amilineau E., who has studied the Greek, Latin, and Coptic writers on this subject. There is practically no difference of opinions among them.—*De Historia Lausiaca*, p. 14.
P. Ladenze, *Le Cenobitisme Pakhomien*, 286.

[6] Afterwards the abbot is said to have been elected of the men "of Alba and Erin" when Hy lost its supremacy. This is very vague.—Reeves' *Adamnan*, p. 364.

[7] *Institutiones*, IV., C. 1.

eminent sanctity, who were strenuously opposed to the heresy of Arius. The people who were neither willing nor competent to enter into the doctrinal questions, received their opinions from them, and thought with them, for they were persuaded that men whose virtue was manifested by their deeds were in possession of the truth." [8]

The monasticism of the Gael played such an important part, not only in the history of Erin but in the evangelisation and secular civilisation of Europe that, we think, a somewhat lengthy examination of its constitution and scope will not be out of place here, in what is primarily a secular history. And in the first place let us say something about monastic rules before comparing them with the Gaelic usages.

To regulate the lives of the thousands who embraced the cenobitical life in Egypt there must have been a very efficient organization. The government of 5,000 monks in a single monastery must have been a very difficult matter, and it was probably a still more difficult task to enforce due subordination and obedience in daughter houses. Yet we hear nothing of mutiny or revolt. The rules and regulations by which this end was attained, if they were reduced to writing before the time of Pachomius, have not reached us.

The customs of Cluny were in use for a long time before they were reduced to a kind of code, about 1009, by the "religious" in Farfa. The monks at Cluny, practising them day by day, felt no need to form them into a supplementary written rule, and they were preserved solely by tradition. No complete or authoritative redaction of the customs is of earlier date than 1085, when Udalric wrote the *Antiquiores Consuetudines Cluniacenses* for the Monastery of Hirschau in Wurtemburg, printed in Achery's *Spicilegium* I. 641, *Constitutiones Monasticæ*.

In an adequate and comprehensive rule we should expect to find regulations dealing (1) with internal or spiritual discipline; (2) with external conduct; (3) providing a constitution for the government of each monastery separately; and (4) providing for the government of a large number of houses in obedience to the same rule in their relation to a chief monastery and to each other.

The first requirement was in early times the most important. A chapter of the rule was read in chapter every morning. This

[8] *Eccl. Hist.* VI. 20, vol. ii., p. 357, Libr. Nicene Fathers.

would supplement the merits or supply, in some measure, the deficiencies of the abbot. There was not, however, we may observe, much danger that without written matter there would be any shortcomings in homiletic exposition amongst the perfervid Gael. St. Basil's rule[9] was, in this view, the earliest, and it remains still unrivalled for richness, variety, and culture. The son of an advocate and rhetor, Basil made his higher studies in philosophy, law, and literature at Athens, where he had as school-fellows Gregory Nazianzen and Julian the Apostate. After practising as advocate for some time at Cæsarea he turned his thoughts to monasticism at the instance of his sister Macrina, who had devoted herself to the religious life. He repaired to Egypt and studied the ascetic life there as well as in Palestine and elsewhere, and returning to Cæsarea, retired to a solitude in Pontus on the river Iris, where his father had an estate. Here he established in due course a monastery, and afterwards (370) became Bishop of Cæsarea. It is to his many-sided training and experience that the excellence of his rule in the respect we have mentioned must be mainly attributed. The rule is written in good Greek, and has reached us in a long and a short form.[10] It is by way of question and answer, the answer being generally a short lecture or discourse on various topics of spiritual interest admirably suited for reading in chapter. It formed, as it were, a little code of spiritual discipline. We find nothing to correspond to this in the Gaelic Church. What is called the rule of St. Columba does not purport, on the face of it, to be a rule or to be by St. Columba. It consists merely of a few short maxims intended apparently for a hermit, and described by Colgan as *Regula Eremitica.* It is most unfair to describe, as is sometimes done, this little collection as the rule of St. Columba or (as is

[9] The *amra* (eulogy) of Columba, 690 A.D. (c.) has the following :—

He used Basil's judgments.
Arbert Barril bratu.
He made known books of law as Cassian loved.
Sloinnfiur leig lebru libuir ut car Carrian.
—*Rev. Celt.* xx. 181, 256.

The *amra* is a complete piece of artificial alliterative prose. It consists of a prefatory prayer to God and forty paragraphs divided into ten chapters. It deals (1) with the sorrow of the Gael for his death ; (2) his ascent to heaven ; (3) his place in heaven ; (4) his sufferings, and the devil's hatred of him ; (5) his wisdom and gentleness ; (6) his charity and abstinence ; (7) his knowledge and foresight ; (8) King Aed's commission to the author ; (9) the special grief of the ui neil (his clansmen) ; (10) the virtues of the amra Coloimb Cille.—Stokes, *Rev. Celt.* xx. 12.

[10] Migne, *Series Græca.* xxxi. 306.

more frequently done without describing it accurately), compare it with the rule of St. Basil or St. Benedict, and then point out triumphantly how inferior was the rule of St. Columba. The following are samples from it:—

Be alone in a separate place near a chief city if thy conscience is not prepared to live in common with the crowd, *i.e*, community.

Let a fast place with one door enclose thee.

A mind prepared for red martyrdom.

A mind fortified and steadfast for white martyrdom, *i.e.*, mortification.

Take not of food till thou art hungry.

Sleep not till thou feelest desire.

Three labours in the day—prayer, work, and reading.

The measure of prayer shall be until tears come, and the measure of thy work till tears come or until the perspiration come if thy tears are not free.

It is absurd to call this a rule of St. Columba, with Adamnan's Life before us.[11]

As regards the external conduct of the monks there are in the rules of St. Basil many excellent directions and maxims of spiritual prudence, but the arrangement is unmethodical. From this point of view St. Benedict's rule is better arranged, and more practical, but its directive and coercive power is dangerously weakened by leaving so many important points subject to unlimited variation at the discretion and dispensation of the abbot. Both rules alike are animated with the same spirit of fatherly care and tenderness for the monks. On one point, however, there is a very remarkable difference between them, all the more remarkable in that St. Benedict was well acquainted with and admired the rule of St. Basil.

The rule of St. Basil prescribes a period of searching probation, the length of which is not mentioned. It was to vary according to the circumstances of each particular case, and the admission of the postulant was to be discretionary. On profession he made, as we understand the rule, a written declaration of vows. This seems implied in certain words in relation to a person who has rescinded his profession: "He should be

[11] For rule, Gaelic and Eng., see Reeves' *Acts of Colton*, Arcb. 109. The entire rule, Gaelic and Eng., occupies only two and a half pages.

A Life of St. Kieran, quoted by Colgan, recites the names of several compilers of rules in these words:—Numerantur octo inter præcipuos Regularum conditores, quibus monasteria prope innumera Regni Hiberniæ regebantur prima enim regula fuit S. Patricii; secunda, S. Brigidæ; tertia, S. Brendani; quarta, S. Kierani; quinta, S, Columbæ; sexta, S. Comgalli; septima, Molassii; octava, S. Adamnani (*Trias. Th.* 471.)

regarded as an offender against God, before whom and with whom he has deposited the profession of his promises."[12] This, we make no doubt, contained vows of obedience, stability, chastity, and individual poverty.

As regards children St. Basil (*ἀπόκρισις*) answers that they are to be received from the earliest years, if they are orphans, at the pleasure of the brotherhood; if the parents are alive, when brought by the parents the children were to be received in the presence of several witnesses, so as to afford no pretext for calumny. They were not, however, then to be received in the body of the brotherhood, or reckoned as of them, lest from their falling away (*ἀποτυχίας*) disgrace should be brought on the religious life. They were to be brought up in all piety as the common children of the brotherhood, whether male or female, with separate board and in separate houses, apart from the community except at prayer, under the control of an aged brother, who was to rule with mildness and paternal tenderness. Their education was to be attended to, "and when the reasoning faculty is developed and the judgment, it is fitting to administer the vow (*ὁρολόγιαν*) of virginity now secure and the result of their own judgment and discretion, with the full development of the reason in the presence of the prefects of the church. In this way no imputation will be cast on the brotherhood for too great haste; and if after making vow to God any should be eager to cast it off, no loop-hole will be left to him for lying."

"And any one who does not wish to take the vow of virginity as not being able to have a care for the things of the Lord, in the presence of the same witnesses let him be let free. But when one after much searching of heart and deliberation, which he ought to be permitted to make privately for the space of very many days, lest anything should appear to be done by a snatch, has made his vow, let him be received and enrolled amongst thy brethren."

The rule and usage of St. Benedict provided in the case of adults that after a novitiate of a year or so, when the novice desired to be fully received into the brotherhood, he should, amongst other things, prepare a written promise (*petitionem*)

[12] *Ἐφ ὁν καὶ εἰς ὃν την ὁρολόγιαν τῶν συνθηκῶν καπεθετο* coram quo et in quo pactorum confessionem deposuit. Interrogatio 14, Migne vol. 31, p. 950 *Series Graeca.*

to wit: "I promise to God and His saints, stability (*i.e.*, perseverance), conversion of life and obedience," and should lay this promise on the altar before the clothing of his head. In the case of an infant (*i.e.* under 14) the father if alive, or the mother, prepared and signed the petition, to wit: "I promise for my son before God and His saints, stability, conversion of life and obedience." Then on the appointed day after the gospel of the mass and before the offertory, he placed in the right hand of the child or boy, an unconsecrated host in a cloth (*oblatum cum mappula*), and a cruet of wine in his left hand, and then holding the boy before him folded his hand in the cloth.[13] Then he held the hand of the boy folded in the cloth in his own hand and also the written promise, by which he fixed him firmly in the monastery. Witnesses were present. Then the abbot asked: "What seek you, brother?" The father answered, "I wish to deliver my son to Almighty God to serve Him in this monastery, for so in the law the Lord commanded the children of Israel that they should make offering of their sons to God, and therefore I wish in like manner to make offering of my son." Then the abbot asked the witnesses: "Do you see, brothers, and hear what he says?" They answered. "We see and hear." Then the father led the boy to the place where men are used to present their offerings, and the priest took the host and the wine from the hand of the boy held in the hand of the father, and the abbot took delivery of the boy and the promise, and then handed the promise back to the father, who placed it on the altar. And, if possible, it was desirable that the abbot should then celebrate the Mass and receive the host and wine himself when consecrated.[14]

This interesting ceremony bound the boy for life as much as if he had been an adult. He was a professed monk by dedication, and the exercise of the formidable "patria protestas"[15] of the Roman law. There was no such practice known to Irish monasticism, which appears, so far as we can judge, to have conformed to the usage of St. Basil.

[13] The cloth (*palla altaris*) was probably a cloth not actually a *corporal* consecrated, but a cloth fashioned like a *corporal*. It was possibly used for the first time after the oblation.

[14] Promitto ego ille (sic) coram Deo et sanctis ejus pro filio meo de stabilitate sua et conversione morum suorum atque obedientiam habendam.
Hildemarus Monachus O. S. B. *Tractatus in regulam S. Benedicti.*—Ed. Mittermueller O. S. B. 1880, p. 548.

[15] See Menardus *Concordia Regularum.*

Both St. Basil and St. Benedict inculcate the necessity for manual labour, and St. Basil takes great pains to point out that prayer is not to be made a pretext for avoiding it. St. Benedict allots, it has been calculated, an average of seven hours daily for it. St. Basil mentions many trades, such as weaving, carpentry, etc., but gives his preference to agriculture. It is noteworthy that there is no vow of celibacy (which was included in the vow of *castitas*) expressly mentioned in either, though it was, no doubt, understood to be impliedly contained in both. In aftertime, on making petition to receive the lay habit in the Order of St. Benedict, the *conversus* promised *castitas* and *stabilitas*. But the old form was still retained for the monks themselves, limiting the vow to stability, conversion of life, and obedience. We do not find any lay brothers, *i.e.*, *conversi*, associated with the Gaelic monks, nor were they seemingly contemplated by the rule of St. Benedict.[16] The reason of the omission of the vow of *castitas* and of regulations concerning the government of subordinate or daughter-houses in the rules of St. Basil and St. Benedict may probably be looked for in legal difficulties. A body of laymen, united under articles of association binding them to celibacy, would undoubtedly be contrary to the policy of the Roman State after the passing of the Julian laws. And though the severity of this legislation was relaxed by Constantine, such an association would, we fancy, still be illegal; and the Arian emperors who succeeded him, and found their stoutest and most formidable adversaries in the monks, would probably have fulminated edicts against such associations. In like manner a network of religious houses spread through the empire, or any considerable portion of it, controlled from a central authority—an *imperium* within an empire—would certainly not have been tolerated by the Imperial government, which itself made regulations concerning the monasteries. In 535 Justinian enacted that when a vacancy occurred in an abbey, the bishop of the place should select from amongst the monks the person he thought fittest, and appoint him abbot. This law was soon repealed. In 546 he enacted that the abbot

[16] We find the lay brothers' vow to run:—"I byhote stedvestnesse and chaste lyf tofore God, and alle Hies kalewen and that ich schel ben buhsam (*i.e.*, obedient) and leven withoute propertie al mi lif time."—*Consuetudines Mons. S. August. Cantuar*, p. 266 and 278. The MS. is probably of the date of the 13th century. The monk's vow is only given in Latin and French.

should be elected by all the monks or by those of the "fairest repute or judgment" (κάλλιονος ὑπολήψεως, translated *melioris opinionis*), who should previously make oath before the Holy Gospels to vote for the best man without favour and not through friendship.[17] The alternative in this law is very curious. Who was to decide if the minority was of fairer repute or sounder judgment than the majority? Was it the emperor? It does not mean, in its plain sense, that the general body of the monks should elect a committee of selection, as was sometimes done in after time. The rule of St. Benedict (516 c.), which may have been modified to comply with this law, provides that he be made abbot whom all the brethren unanimously in the fear of God, or even a part, however small, of the brethren of sounder judgment shall elect.[18] We have seen how the monks at Glastonbury obtained permission to elect their abbot under this rule. Previously, we presume, the Gaelic use prevailed, and the abbot was selected by the abbot of the parent house.

By a synodical decree made at the Lateran under Gregory the Great in 601 it was provided that on the death of an abbot no stranger should be elected if a fitting person was to be found amongst the brethren. There appears to be something wanting in the text, which runs:—"Whom if by their own free will the unanimous society of the brethren———and who shall have been elected without fraud or bribery, let him be 'ordained' (*i.e.*, as abbot)." It is probably the "alternative" clause in the Imperial Edict that is wanting.[19] Monasticism had enemies at a very early period, and when Arianism was powerful and in the ascendant this hostility led to persecution. Valens in 373 issued an edict directing that the monks should be dragged from their retreats and compelled to do their duties as citizens and soldiers.[20] St. Chrysostom (347-407) gives details as to

[17] Novell, c. 9. *Ed. Schoell*, p. 34 (A.D. 535). Novell, CXIII. c. 34 *Ed. Schoell*, p. 618 (A.D. 546).

[18] In abbatis ordinatione illa semper consideratur ratio ut hic constituatur quem sibi omnis concors congregatio secundum timorem Dei, sive etiam pars quamvis parva congregationis saniori consilio elegerit, c. 64.

[19] Defuncto autem abbate cujusque congregationis non extraneus eligatur nisi de eadem congregatione quem si propria voluntate concors fratrum societas, et qui electus fuerit sine dolo nec venalitate aliqua ordinatur.—Mansi, X. 487.

[20] The edict runs:—"Since many, through lives of idleness, shirk their public duties and betake themselves to solitary and secret places, and under pretext of religion attach themselves to communities of monks; these, and such like, found in Egypt, we command, by formal edict from our Court of the East, to drag from their hiding places and recall to the discharge of public duties, or, according to the tenor of our decree, deprive them of the enjoyment of their property, which

this persecution, and denounces the men "who make war" on those who adopt the monastic life. He was only eighteen years younger than Basil the Great, and had been a monk for six years himself. There was no persecution of the monks in Erin.

As regards food, St. Basil prescribes great moderation, the use only of what was necessary to sustain life. "The common cheap food of the country with a little oil." "When they have finished their daily work," said St. Chrysostom, "they seat themselves at table, and truly they have not many dishes. Some only eat bread and salt, others take oil besides. The weaker add herbs and vegetables. Having closed their meal with hymns, they lay themselves down on straw."[21]

The Rule of St. Benedict, which is too well known to require a detailed examination here, was a little more liberal. Though it forbade the use of the flesh of quadrupeds it allowed the use of a reasonable quantity of wine, and seemingly of the flesh of poultry, which is not, at any rate, expressly prohibited. Milk probably would cost more than common wine, and not be at all times procurable.

St. Cæsarius of Arles, born in 476, made his studies at Lerins—"the nursery of bishops." From it went bishops to Armagh and Belgium, to Arles, Lyons, Vienna, Avignon, Venice, Troyes, and other places. From it also came Vincentius, Salvianus, Faustus, and Eucherius. After filling the office of cellarer or steward at Lerins, Cæsarius became the abbot or prior of a suburban monastery near Arles, which he reformed, under a code of rules drawn up by himself. These, no doubt, were the "uses" of Lerins; the same in substance as those which were brought to Erin in the time of our apostle. His biographer and soul-friend, Cyprianus, tells us he never changed from the rules of Lerins—*Nunquam, Lerinensium fratrum instituta reliquit.* The rule was written or dictated by him to his nephew, Tetradius, as well as a rule for nuns, believed to be the oldest,[22] during his abbacy, which he held for three years

we have adjudged should be claimed by those who were liable for the discharge of public duties." As the monks had no individual property, the law appears to have been interpreted so as to capture all, and they were forced into the Imperial armies.—*Cod. Theodos.* LXII. Tit. I. reg. 63.

[21] *Hom.* on Ep. I. to Timothy.

[22] Rule 12 for Nuns.—Let every nun learn to read, and at all times have freedom for reading for two hours, from morning till the 2nd hour, *i.e.*, 8 o'clock—Migne, vol. 67, p. 1,106.

before he became bishop of Arles in 502. Besides poverty and obedience, the rule prescribes stability, *i.e.*, perseverance till death, and that the monk shall at all times read till the 3rd hour. *i.e.*, 9 o'clock, and then do the other work he was ordered to do. Wednesdays and Fridays were to be fast days in ordinary weeks, and the other times of fasting the same as in Erin. No fowl or flesh was to be eaten except by the sick. The rule contains only 26 paragraphs.

In Erin there was no undue austerity as regards food, as we shall now proceed to show. The so-called rule of St. Columba says nothing on the subject, but we have authentic information in Adamnan.

The ascetical writings of Columbanus are :—

1. The *Regula Monastica*, which is found in MSS. of Bobbio and St. Gall.
2. *Regula Cenobialis*, which is not found in these codices, but in a codex of Augsburg and another of Ochenhausen.
3. The *Penitential : De penetentiarum mensura taxanda liber.*
4. *Sermons*—Instructions, short homilies, 17 in number, admirably suited for reading in Chapter, as part of the spiritual discipline.

The authorship of the *Penitentials* is disputed. They deal largely with the number of *percussiones* to be administered, which may mean anything from a soft slap to a stroke with a cat-o'-nine-tails. Some such discipline was necessary for boy monks, according to the ideas of the time, and though a number is mentioned, this was, no doubt, reducible at the discretion of the abbot or prior. At Iona the penance was, we infer, in the discretion of Columba. Adamnan makes no mention of *percussiones*, but there was a penitentiary in Tiree, to which grave offenders were sentenced for seven or twelve years.[28]

The authorship of the *Regula Monastica* and the *Instructiones* is generally admitted. St. Columbanus warns his children not to attach too much importance to excessive fasting. "Don't," he says, "suppose that it suffices for us to fatigue the body by fasts and vigils if we do not also mortify and reform our moral being" (*mores*).

The so-called rule of Columbanus consists of nine short chapters, on obedience, silence, eating, drinking, vanity,

[28] Seebass has collected the authorities in his *Columba von Luxeuils Klosterrega.* 1888.
Reeves' *Adamnan*, 350.

chastity, discretion, mortification; on the perfection of the monk; on the diversity of faults. It is manifestly a fragment, and its attribution to Columbanus is disputed by some.

As regards food he says :—

Let the food be cheap, and taken in the evening by the monks, who are to avoid eating to satiety or drinking to ebriety, so that (the meal) may sustain and not hurt. Vegetables, beans, and such like (*olera et legumina*), flour and water (white sauce ?), and small fragments of bread, so that the stomach may not be loaded and the mind stupefied. For regard must be had to what is wholesome and nutritious (only) by those who desire the rewards that are eternal, and therefore the use of food must be regulated like the performance of labour. For this is true discretion, to secure the capacity for spiritual progress by abstinence, which keeps the flesh in subjection (*lit.* lean). For if abstinence exceeds moderation it is a fault and not a virtue. Now, virtue consists of many things that are good and keeps them active. Therefore (the monk) must fast as he must pray and labour and read (*i.e.*, learn) every day.[24]

To see regulations of this kind in their true perspective it is necessary to view them in relation to contemporary modes of life and standards of comfort and not in comparison with the luxurious asceticism of monks who wandered far away from primitive rule and usage. The stone pillow of St. Columba to a modern ear sounds a more painful austerity than a plank bed; but we forget that at that period and down to Tudor times the pillow in ordinary use was made of wood.[25] And the Englishman who eats three or four square meals a day, not including his afternoon tea, stands aghast at the folly and superstition of men who ate only one meal at sundown. Yet this was the custom in secular life. Captain Cuellar, of the Spanish Armada, whose ship was wrecked in Donegal Bay, wrote an account of his misadventures in Ireland to King

[24] *Regula Monastica*, c. iii. Cibus sit vilis et vespertinus monachorum satietatem fugiens, et potus ebrietatem; ut et sustineat et non noceat, olera legumina, farina aqua mixta, cum parvo panis paximatione ne venter oneretur et mens suffocetur. Etenim utilitati et usui tantum consulendum est æterna desiderantibus præmia et ideo temperandus est ita usus sicut temperandus est labor; quia haec est vera discretio ut possibilitas spiritalis profectus cum abstinentia carnem macerante retentetur, si enim modum abstinentia excesserit vitium non virtus erit; virtus enim multa sustinet bona et continet ergo quotidie jejunandum est, sicut quotidie orandum est; quotidie laborandum, quotidie est legendum.—Migne, vol. 80, p. 210. The *paximentum* appears to have been a hard-baked cake or biscuit, and to have varied in size. Cassian says in one place that two hardly made a pound weight. It was, whatever the weight, exclusive of fruit and vegetables, and there was plenty of milk. See Fleming's note. There is a striking similarity between our text and the passages in Cassian's Coll. 2, c. 19 and c. 22.—Migne, vol. 80, p. 210.

[25] Adamnan says his bed was a hard stone. The *Vita Secunda* says a skin, possibly a sheep's skin, was over it. This was exceptional. Each monk had a separate bed, with a mattrass, probably of straw, and a pillow.

Philip II. of Spain, dated October 4th, 1589, from which we take the following extract:—

They (*i.e.*, the Irish) live in huts made (? covered) with straw. The men have big bodies, their features and limbs are well made, and they are as agile as deer. They eat but one meal a day, and that at night, and their ordinary food is oaten bread and butter. They drink sour milk, as they have no other beverage, but no water, although it is the best in the world. On holidays they eat meat half cooked, without bread or salt. They dress in tight breeches and goat-skin jackets cut short, but very big, and over all a blanket, and wear their hair down to the eyes. They are good walkers and have great endurance. They sleep upon the ground on rushes freshly cut and full of water, or else frozen stiff. Most of the women are very pretty, but badly dressed. They are hard workers and good housewives, after their fashion. These savages liked us very much. Their domain extends forty leagues each way.[26]

In the Life of Columbanus, by Jonas, we read of the saint and his monks reaping a field of wheat. Beer made from barley, fish, and birds were used. "He commenced to thresh out the corn, and the monks were seated and the tables were prepared, and he ordered that they might be strengthened by a joyful banquet."

At Iona the days of the year were divided into Sundays and saints' days (*dies solemnes*) and ordinary days. On ordinary days every Wednesday and Friday, except during the interval between Easter and Whitsuntide, was a fast day. The fast was relaxed, except on great fast days, in the exercise of hospitality when a stranger arrived. On ordinary fast days one meal was taken consisting of a moderate share of bread, a hen egg, and milk mixed with water. During Lent and Advent all ordinary days were fast days.[27] On ordinary days, which were not fast days, the food was simple bread, sometimes made of barley, milk, fish, eggs, and probably seal's flesh, and on Sundays and saints' days and on the arrival of guests there was an improvement of diet, which consisted in an addition to the principal meal, on which occasion it is probable that mutton, and even beef, were served up. Ratramnus of Corbie states it was the general practice of the Scots to have one meal only at nones (three o'clock), except on Sundays and feast days.

Among the Gael there was no blood-letting or scourging for the mortification of the body. Hard work and plain living, accompanied, we are proud to say, in very many cases, with high thinking, enabled them to dispense with these heroic precautions.

[26] This was the territory of the Mac Clancys ("Dartree Mic Clancy), coextensive with the present barony of Ross Clogher. The Castle of Ross Clogher, on the southern shore of L. Melvin, was the residence of the chieftain.—*Letter of Captain Cuellar*, H. Sedgwick, p. 69 (condensed); and Allingham, H., *Cuellar's Adventures*, p. 15.

[27] Reeves' *Adamnan*, 341-355.

CHAPTER XXIV.

THE TEACHING OF THE NATIONS.

Pro Christo peregrinari volens enavigavit
Deciding to go abroad for Christ, he sailed away.

IT was not the pinch of famine nor the fear of poison, the pitch cap or the triangle, still less the prickings of an uneasy conscience, that led the Gaelic monks to leave a land which they loved. It was in obedience to the precepts of the Gospel, and following the example of our apostle, that they went forth to teach the heathen. Many a home-sick heart they carried with them.

Wanderers ever, without pause or rest,
They longed for their country and cradle land.[1]

Deoraid sior gan sgit gan fos
Mianaid a d-tir 's a n-dúteos.

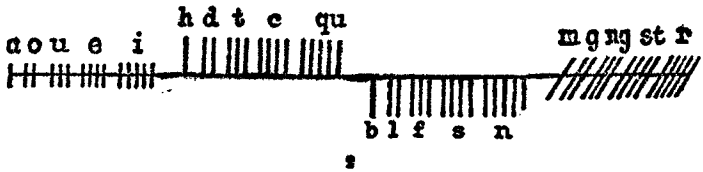
No murmur of regret, however, ever passed the lips of these brave men. "My country," said Mochonna, one of Columba's disciples, "is where I can gather the largest harvest for Christ." There was no desire to turn back; no craven fear of martyrdom. They were ever ready to stand and fall in the fighting line, as became the sons of the soldier.

The first and, perhaps, the greatest of these apostles was Columba, the Gaelic patron of the Gael. But before we follow him to the scene of his labours, we must say a word as to the educational preparation at home that ensured the success under Providence of the efforts of the missionaries abroad.

At the reception of the faith such education as existed in Erin may be roughly described as technical, such as we have seen outlined in the Brehon Law Tracts. There was no literary training. There was, it is true, an alphabet of a primitive kind. The letters called *Oghams*, 24 in number,

[1] The *Tristia* in Gaelic, attributed to Columba, are not genuine.

consisted of groups of parallel lines or scores, to the right, left, or across a vertical stem-line. The groups of parallel lines or scores vary in number, from one to five, and are placed horizontally or obliquely as regards the vertical stem-line, which is usually the edge of an upright stone. The vowels, however, are sometimes represented by short lines or points. The lines or scores, according to the Gaelic practice, commenced below, and the *arris* is to be read upwards. On the second edge the *arris* is to be read downwards generally, but sometimes upwards, like the first *arris*. Turning the page, so as to represent an upright pillar, the groups with their values are:—



Opinions vary as to the origin of this alphabet. Bishop Graves and Professor Rhys are in favour of the Latin alphabet. Isaac Taylor, on the other hand, a weighty authority, and for weighty reasons, connects it with the Scandinavian runes. He says, "That the Oghams were derived from the runes is indicated by the fact that they are found exclusively in regions where Scandinavian settlements were established, and also by the fact that the names of the Oghams agree curiously with the names of the runes of corresponding value.[2] The primitive forms of the Ogham symbols would seem to have been directly suggested by the "tree runes," which are occasionally found side by side with the ordinary runes. In the *Book of Ballymote* they are referred to the Tuatha De Danaan, who represent, in all probability, an earlier Scandinavian immigration."

There have been found in Ireland 155 Ogham inscriptions, of which 148 are in Cork, Kerry, Waterford, or Kilkenny. There are twenty Welsh Ogham inscriptions; seventeen being in South Wales, two in Devon, one in Cornwall, and some in

[2] Older values are proposed for some of these symbols by Rhys.

[3] *Greeks and Goths*, 180. The *Alphabet* (1899), II. 225.

the Isle of Man and Scotland. It may be safely affirmed that where the Northmen never came, Ogham inscriptions are never found.[4] These inscriptions are all of an *obituary* or mortuary character, connected probably with religious motives. No list of names of kings or chieftains, or fact of historical value, is found in them. Assuming then, and in our humble judgment the assumption is warranted, that Ogham writing was used long before the reception of the Faith; it was not better suited for literary uses than the cuneiform syllabary, and there were no clay tablets to facilitate its employment.

Literary culture, therefore, had its beginning with the coming of our apostle, who is represented in our texts as reading and writing for his converts "alphabets and rudiments of the Faith." It is interesting to know that he brought his script, or mode of writing, from Southern Gaul, and in the sixth century Ireland became the chief school of Western caligraphy, and the *Irish Uncial* blazed forth in full splendour as the most magnificent of all mediæval scripts. Some time in the fifth century a fully formed book-hand must have been introduced from Gaul by the saint. The *cursive* writing of Southern Gaul supplies unmistakable prototypes for the ten Irish test forms which could not be obtained by any process of palæographical evolution from the contemporary Roman uncials. The Roman uncials are rounded capitals: the Irish uncials are uncialized cursives.[5] Since the publication of Isaac Taylor's work on the alphabet (1899) the second part of Macalister's *Irish Epigraphy* has appeared (1902). This contains an account of Ogham tablets found at Bure in Saxony, about eleven miles south of Magdeburg. About 1,200 stones were found, pieces of limestone, big and very little, bearing scores and figures made with a very sharp tool. The figures inscribed represent hammers, axes, a shield, two swords crossed, a tent, a javelin, a spear-head, a sling, a bow, and a bird and an arrow. Under these figures are written Ogham characters, that is, parallel lines and a stem line. Mr. Macalister, giving the Gaelic values to the scripts in six cases, could not discover the meaning of the words, or even the language. Some of the other inscriptions looked like Runic letters, but tested by the known forms of the Runic alphabet were unintelligible. He

[4] Taylor, *Greeks and Goths* (1879), III.

[5] This is condensed from Taylor's *Alphabet* II.,63-178.

observed that there are several details on these tablets which suggest that when fuller knowledge is brought to us by future discoveries the much-derided author of the tract on Oghams in the *Book of Ballymote* may yet be acquitted of the charge of mere childish futility. He thinks that some of the scribings may be Oghamic shorthand, and that thus works of any length would not require the cartload of timber postulated by Bishop Graves for a poem of moderate length in Oghams. We think this very improbable, but the discovery seems to take us back towards the Oghamic-like scribings of the Dolmen period already referred to. Mr. Macalister thinks they were "probably magical." [6]

After St. Patrick had founded his habitations (congabala) in the territories conquered for the Faith, one of the most urgent needs of the Church was to make provision for the education of the clergy. And we may be sure that he brought with him alumni of Lerins and Auxerre well qualified to undertake the task and become the teachers, not only of the clergy, but also of the laity. The study of Latin, and what is more remarkable, of Greek and even Hebrew, flourished side by side with the study of theology, and many of the ministers of religion were at once sound theologians and accomplished scholars. "The classic tradition," says Mr. Darmesteter, "to all appearance dead in Europe, burst out into full bloom in the Isle of the Saints, and the Renaissance began in Ireland seven hundred years before it was known in Italy. During three centuries Ireland was the asylum of the Higher Learning, which took sanctuary from the uncultured States of Europe. At one time Armagh, the religious capital of Christian Ireland, was the metropolis of civilization." [7] The Higher Learning took sanctuary in the monasteries; the lamp of knowledge burned before the altar.

"Deciding to go abroad for Christ he sailed away." [8] So wrote Adamnan, who also tells us that St. Brendan stated at the Synod of Tailltin that he "saw that St. Columba was

[6] Macalister, *Irish Epigraphy*, Part II. (1902), 138.

[7] Hyde, 218.

[8] Hic anno secundo post Culedrebinæ bellum ætatis vero suæ XLIII. de Scotia in Britanniam, pro Christo, peregrinari volens enavigavit, Qui a puero Christiano deditus tirocinio et sapientiæ studiis integritatem corporis et animæ puritatem, Deo Donante custodiens quamvis in terra positus cœlestibus seraptum moribus ostendebat. Adamnan, *Praefatio*.

foreordained by God to be a leader of peoples to life."[9] Columbia was then 42 years of age, 563. He was born in 521, and died in 597. It is quite a mistake to represent this mission as a penance and an exile. It was neither. Iona was regarded by Ptolemy and Bede as part of Erin.

In going to Iona he was going to his own people. Erca, the granddaughter of Loarn Mor, the renowned chieftain of Argyl, was his grandmother.[10] Since the settlement in Alba intermittent war with varying fortunes raged between the Gael there and the Picts. Three years before, the Gael had sustained a severe defeat, and Domhangart, their chieftain, who was a first cousin to Erca, was slain. To end this strife Columba resolved to convert to Christianity the Picts, who were still heathen, hoping that in the unity of the Faith they would be drawn together in the bonds of peace. "The conversion of this strong race," writes the Very Rev. Dr. Macgregor, "was an enterprise worthy of a great missionary. If successful it would be a patriotic as well as a Christian act; for binding them to his kinsmen by a common faith, he would help to prevent the recurrence of war between them."

His efforts were successful under difficulties which the following extract will enable our readers to understand:—

Even imagination can help us but a little way in picturing to ourselves the Scotland of the time, and those lonely journeys on foot of the master and his disciples across its rugged mountains and through its dense forests and among its bleak bogs and morasses, or those still more dangerous voyages when in frail skiffs they boldly faced the seas that raged round the Hebrides and the Orkneys. From more sources than one we can picture to ourselves what Columba and his disciples were like. We can see them as they journey on foot from one end of Scotland to the other, as poor and as barely provided for as were Christ's Apostles, with neither silver nor gold nor brass in their purses, and over a much wilder country, and among wilder people. I think of these pure Celts (*recte* Gael) as they were, as probably in physical appearance not unlike the Scottish Highlanders of the present day—a noble race among whom you will find, and not uncommon, as fine a type of manly beauty as the earth can show, men of commanding presence, as we certainly know Columba and Columbanus were. They come before us as men with few wants, living on humblest fare, leading an

[9] Hunc itaque spernare non audeo quem populorum ducem ad vitam a Deo pro ordinatum video. St. Brendan of Birr died in 573, and St. Columba instituted a festival at Iona in commemoration. Adamnan, III. 4.

[10] Fergus, the son of Conal Gulban, married Erca, the daughter of Loarn Mor to whom she bore Feidlimidh, the father of Columba, whose mother was Eithne, 10th in descent from Cathair Mor, Ard Righ, 120 A.D.

outdoor life, men of powerful physique, capable of great endurance, inured to hardship and fatigue from their earliest days. We see them as they march forth from Iona in little bands, clad in a simple white tunic, over which was the usual monkish dress of undyed wool, coarse, but strong and good, comfortable and most picturesque, bound round the waist with a strong cord, covering them from head to foot, and serving them for clothes by day and blanket by night. All their worldly goods they carry with them on their back in a wallet; over their shoulder a leathern water bottle; in their hand a staff. Thus they trudge sturdily along. It was men like that, and in a way like that, who converted Scotland and England and Northern Europe to God.[11]

Reeves gives a list, by no means exhaustive, of 21 of Columba's foundations among the Picts, and 32 among the Scots of Alba.

"The primitive history of the Church of Scotland," he says, "is essentially Irish. Situate in the West, Columba's great monastery of Hy exercised a religious influence which was felt in every quarter of Scotland. In the extreme North, the Orkneys were rendered safe to the devout pilgrim by St. Columba; in the far South, Melrose attained its greatest celebrity under Eata, one of St. Aidan's twelve disciples; and in the Eastern extremity of Pictland, Drostan, son of Cosgrog, accompanied the indefatigable Columba, when he founded the churches of Aberdour and Aberlour. Even the nunnery of Colubi or Coldingham is introduced to notice by the father of English history, to illustrate his narrative of one Adamnan, a Scot of Ireland. There were, it is true, two ecclesiastical establishments in the South-west which were not of Columban origin. Rosnat, the Whithorn of the Saxon, and the *Candida Casa* of Latin history, was founded by Ninian prior to St. Columba's date, while the Episcopal See of Glasgow owes its origin to St. Kentigern (or Munghu), a Strathclyde Briton."[12]

It is outside the scope of this work to trace the history of the Columban missionaries in their perilous warfare for Christ, from Iceland to Tarentum, from Skelig Michael to Vienna. Their labours in Germany are summarised by a German priest with becoming gratitude, in his *History of the Diocese of Cologne*:—

Mabillon remarks that the Scoti conferred four benefits on the German people: (1) the Faith; (2) the erection of bishoprics; (3) the introduction of arts and letters; (4) the knowledge of agriculture. Those who wish to realise the full extent to which we are indebted to the Scoti for these blessings have only to read the work of the learned Spittler,[13] which is worthy of the closest attention.

These missionaries (*i.e.*, the Irish,) feared neither the dangers of the sea nor of the land. Armed with the cross, they preached Christ crucified to kings and peoples. They gave their lives for the salvation

[11] The Very Rev. Dr. MacGregor: *Commemoration Sermon* at Iona June 9th 1897.

[12] Reeves, *Culdees*, 26.

[13] *Grundriss der Geschichte der Christlichen Kirche.*

Faith, but all the civilising institutions of the Christian religion—of our forefathers. . . . They not only brought the treasure of the schools, but hospitals, asylums, shelters for the poor, and all similar retreats. In the year 844, several of these institutions having been allowed to fall into disrepair, whether through the negligence of bishops or the vicissitudes of the times, a decree was passed at the Council of Meaux, held in that year, ordering hospitals and such foundations to be restored 'such as they had been instituted by the Scots of old.' Every province of Germany proclaims this race as its benefactor. Austria celebrates St. Coleman, St. Virgilius, St. Modestus, and others. To whom but to the Scots was due the famous "Schottenkloster" of Vienna? Salsburg Ratisbon, and all Bavaria, honour St. Virgilius as their apostle. Similar, honour is paid in different regions to SS. Alto, Marianus, and Macarius. To whom but to these same monks was due the famous monastery of St. James at Ratisbon? Burgundy, Alsace, Helvetia. Suevia, with one voice proclaim the glory of Columbanus, Gall, Fridolin, Arbogast, Florentius, and Trudpert, who first preached the true religion amongst them. Who were the founders of the monasteries of St. Thomas at Strasburg and of St. Nicholas at Memmingen but these same Scots? Franconia and the Buchonian forest honour as their apostles St. Killian and St. Firmin. And the Scottish monasteries of St. Aegidius and St. James, which in old times flourished at Nuremberg and Wurzburg, to whom are they to be ascribed but to the holy monks of ancient Scotia? The land between the Rhine and the Moselle rejoiced in the labours of Wendelin and Disibod. The old and famous monastery of St. James at Mainz was founded, according to the best authorities, by these same Scots. The Saxons and the tribes of Northern Germany are indebted to them to an extent which may be judged by the fact that the first ten bishops who occupied the See of Verdun belonged to that race.[14]

There is, however, one mission within the British Isles to which, for many reasons, we must give special and detailed attention after we have referred briefly to a peculiarity in the constitution of the Scotch mission, which is mentioned by Bede. "The island," he wrote, "is wont to have always an abbot who is a priest, for its ruler, to whose jurisdiction both all the *provincia* and the bishops also themselves, after an unusual order, are bound to be subject, according to the example of him who was their first teacher (*i.e.*, Columba), who was not a bishop but a priest and monk."[15] The episcopal office is regarded by good authorities as twofold, one branch exercising spiritual authority, *potestas ordinis*; the other

[14] *Antiquitates Monasterii Sancti Martini Majoris Coloniensis*, I. H. Ressel, presbyter, Coloniensis, 1863, Hogan, J. F., *Irish Monasteries in Germany*, *Ir. Eccl. Rec.*, 1898, 533. We have condensed the above from the Rev. Fr. Hogan. His article on Cologne is one of a very interesting series on the *Irish Monasteries in Germany*, which we hope he will find leisure to recast and publish in a connected history.

[15] *H. E.* III. 5.

temporal authority, *potestas jurisdictionis*. In Erin, as we have seen, where, as elsewhere, and nowhere more than in Italy, the temporalities of the Church were invaded by lay intruders,[16] the intruders some times called themselves bishops, not claiming, however, the *potestas ordinis*, but only the *potestas jurisdictionis*. St. Columba, as a priest, had no episcopal *potestas ordinis*, but exercised the *potestas jurisdictionis* in the general management and control of the temporalities of the mission. In addition, when the bishop, as was always the case with Columba, was also a monk, he owed the saint monastic obedience as abbot. The episcopal and monastic systems there and in Erin were in reality not two systems but parts of one and the same system. Thus, as regards Lindisfarne, Bede tells us that

> Aidan, who was the first bishop, was a monk, and led a monastic life along with his people. Hence, after him all the bishops of that place until this day exercise the episcopal office in such sort that while the abbot, who is chosen by the bishop with the consent of the brethren, governs the monastery, all the priests, deacons, chanters, readers, and other ecclesiastical Orders, observe in all things the monastic rule along with the bishop himself[17].

There was no rivalry, no conflict, no recriminations between abbot and bishop. There were no "perturbations and promulgations," and no *privilegia* exempting monasteries from episcopal visitation and jurisdiction. If the bishop was a provincial king like Cormac, or a *rigdamna* like the fiery abbot of Inis Scattery, he had to fight the battles of his tribe. So the German bishops, as temporal princes under the feudal system, donned their coats of mail and mounted their war-horses and accompanied the Emperor on his march to Rome And if the *muintir* of one abbey, which comprised not only the monks but the folk on the termon lands, with their friends and supporters, fought against the *muintir* of another abbey, the abbot of Farfa rode with the Emperor, while the abbot of Monte Casino stood firm for the Pope. With the exception of these rare quarrels, which were local and probably arose out of a dispute about a right of way or a turf-bank, the peace of the Church was a reality in Erin so far as ecclesiastics were concerned.

[16] In Erin, as we have seen, these intruding robbers are called *archidoci*—arrant grabbers in the Tirechan text, *Trip. Life*, 312.

[17] Bede, *Vita Cuthb.*, c. 16.

St. Augustine landed in Kent some three or four weeks before the death of St. Columba (July 9th, 597). Kent was the county of the Jutes, and Ethelbert, their king or chieftain, was Bretwalda, a sort of ard-righ, exercising some authority or influence as overlord in the East of England, as far north as the Humber. He had married, many years before, Bertha, the daughter of Charibert, King of Paris, and the great granddaughter of Clotilde, the wife of Clovis. She was a Christian, and brought with her to Canterbury, as her soul-friend, Bishop Luidhard. We cannot doubt that both were anxious for the conversion of the heathen, and by example at least, if not by an active propaganda, exercised a salutary influence. They received, however, no assistance from the Frankish bishops. Of this the Pope complains: "We are informed," he wrote, "that they longingly wish to be converted, but the bishops and priests of the neighbouring region (France) neglect them."

Whatever preparation may have been made, the honour of converting the first tribe of the English nation—the Jutes—belongs to St. Augustine. Ethelbert's nephew, the King of Essex, which included London, and Essex, too, was for the time converted, and Millitus was placed in the See of London, and Justus at Rochester. St. Augustine remained at Canterbury until his death (604 or 605).

On Ethelbert's death (616) Essex relapsed into heathenism, and his son and successor for a time returned to idol worship, because he would not be allowed to marry his stepmother. The only solid and permanent result of St. Augustine's work was the conversion of Kent. Millitus and Justus fled to Gaul, but Laurentius, the successor of Augustine, was providentially prevented from joining them.

Kent, an insignificant portion of England, so far as regarded area (a great portion of it was a vast forest) and population, having thus received the Faith, there remained the powerful tribes of the Saxons in the South and East, and the Angles in the North and Midlands. The Angles occupied Northumbria, comprising the Kingdom of Bernicia on the North, and Deira on the South, and extending from the Forth to Lincolnshire. The Mercians, too, to the South, were Angles. It was with the Angles of Northumbria that the Columban missionaries came first in contact. In 625 Edwin, King of Northumbria, then a heathen, took to wife Ethelburga, the

daughter of Ethelbert of Kent. She was attended to York by Bishop Paulinus and James the Deacon. After a time Edwin was baptized with many of his chief men on Easter Day, 627. Edwin was defeated and slain in the Battle of Heathfield (633) by the heathen King of Mercia and his Christian ally, Ceadwalla, who overran Northumbria and laid all waste with fire and sword. The Christian King, as Bede tells us, was more cruel than the heathen, Paulinus, then fled with Ethelburga by sea to Kent, and though James the Deacon remained and did what he could around Catterick, where he resided, the Faith was, according to the soundest views, virtually extirpated in Northumbria. As, however, some writers indulge in vague generalities, stating or suggesting that Northumbria was largely converted by Paulinus, and that his work was largely preserved by James the Deacon, and that the conversion of Northumbria may be fairly claimed for the Augustine Mission, we shall give a few particulars.

Paulinus brought no priests with him, was joined by no priests there, ordained no priests there, and when he fled there was not a single priest between the Forth and the Humber. Paulinus went into the North of Northumbria with the King and Queen to a royal residence, Glendale, and stayed there thirty days, catechising and baptizing people who came from the surrounding villages and localities. But this could not be solid and permanent conversion. Bede tells us that when the Columban monks arrived "in Bernicia (*i.e.*, in Durham, Northumberland, and northwards to Edinburgh) no sign, so far as we can discover, of the Christian faith existed, no church or altar was erected." (III., c. 2.) In Deira (*i.e.*, Yorkshire) at a place where he was often wont to stay with the King, he baptized in the river Swale which flows by Catterick, near Richmond, for no oratories or fonts could yet be made in those parts. He built one wooden church at Campodunum which was afterwards burnt by the Pagans, but the altar, which was of stone, escaped, and was preserved in the monastery in Elmete Wood. This and the church at York were the only churches ever built by Paulinus. Edwin was succeeded in Bernicia by Eanfried, and in Deira by Osric. Both apostatized, and were slain by Ceadwalla within the year, and with the exception of James, the Deacon, and his friends and following near Catterick—who cannot have been

of much account—the light of the Faith was extinguished in Northumbria, and the task before the Columban mission was more difficult than if it had never been lighted, for it is easier to convert a heathen than to reconvert an apostate. Ceadwalla, however, did not long enjoy his victory. Oswald the brother of Eanfried, who had been an exile with the Picts and Scots, and had received the faith from the Columban monks at Iona, advanced with a small army against him to a place near Hexham, not far from the Roman Wall. The battlefield was known in after times as Heavenfield. The day before the battle, Columba appeared to Oswald as he slept in his tent, and his lofty stature seemed to touch the clouds. "Be of good cheer," said the Saint, "and play the man. Behold, I will be with you. Advance from the camp to-night to battle, for the Lord has granted to me that this time the foe shall be put to flight and your enemy, Ceadwalla, delivered into your hands, and you shall return victorious after the fight, and reign happily." Oswald then got up and told this vision to his Council, and the whole army, who were Pagans, except Oswald and twelve more who had been baptized by the monks of Iona, promised to receive the faith and be baptized if they were victorious. Oswald attacked the following night, and Ceadwalla was routed and slain. "This story my predecessor, Failbhe, our abbot, told to me, Adamnan. He stated that he had heard it from the mouth of Oswald himself when he narrated the particulars of his vision to Abbot Seghine (5th Abbot, 623-652.)"[18] Oswald, before the fight commenced, set up a cross, which was standing in Bede's time. Oswald then became King of both Bernicia and Deira, and the supremacy of Northumbria was assured as soon as the tie which bound them together was firmly knit by a solid and permanent conversion to the Faith.

As soon as Oswald ascended the throne, being desirous that all his nation should receive the Christian Faith, whereof he had had happy experience in vanquishing the barbarians, he sent to the Elders of the Scots, among whom himself and his followers in exile had received the sacrament of Baptism, requesting that they would send him a bishop, by whose instruction and ministry the English nation, which he governed.

[18] Adamnan, c. I., and Green, *Making of England*, II., 28.

might be taught the advantages and receive the sacraments of the Christian Faith. Nor were they slow in granting his request, but sent him Bishop Aidan, a man of singular meekness, piety, and moderation, zealous in the cause of God, though not altogether according to knowledge; for he was wont to keep Easter according to the custom of his country, which we have before so often mentioned, from the 14th to the 20th Moon. But the Scots of the South had long since (*jamdudum*); *by the admonition of the Bishop of the Apostolic See,* learned to observe Easter according to the canonical custom.[19] The King appointed him as his Episcopal Seat the Isle of Lindisfarne, which lay off the coast of Bernicia, near Bamborough, which was the royal seat. When Aidan, who was not skilful in the English tongue, preached the Gospel, it was delightful to hear the King himself interpreting the word of God to his captains and ministers (*ducibus et ministris*), for he had perfectly learned the language of the Scots during his long exile. From that time many of the Scots came from their parts (*i.e.*, Iona) daily into Britain, and with great devotion preached the Word to those provinces of the English over which the King reigned, and those among them that had received priest's orders administered to them the grace of Baptism. Churches were built in several places, the people joyfully flocked together to hear the Word. Money and lands were given of the King's bounty to build monasteries, the English, great and small, were by their Scottish teachers instructed in the rules of monastic discipline, as well as the higher branches of education (*cum majoribus studiis*), for most of them that came to preach were monks.[20]

From the English youth Aidan selected twelve "to be specially instructed in the knowledge of Christ." Among these was Eata, who was afterwards Bishop of Lindisfarne.

If our readers will compare these methods and this organisation with the action of Paulinus they will readily comprehend the superficial and sporadic character of the work

[19] *Jamdudum*—long since. This appears a strong word here. The Synod in which the "canonical Easter" was adopted was held in 632 or 633, only two or three years before.

[20] Lindisfarne, or Holy Island, on the coast of Northumberland, near Bamborough Castle, is 13 miles S.E. of Berwick-on-Tweed. It is 3 miles by 1½ miles, nearly the same size as Iona, and half of it is cultivated. The passage from the mainland is dry sand at low water, about 1¾ miles in length.

of the latter, who, however, it must be said, did not set before himself the task of evangelizing the Angles. To complete Bede's description, which comes after the expulsion of Coleman, to be presently related, and which he gives with evident relish as a severe rebuke to the spiritual decadence of his own time, we add further from him:—

Aidan was wont to go about to all places in town and country on foot unless any urgent necessity compelled him. Moreover, Aidan's course of life was so different from the slothfulness of ours that all who walked with him, whether tonsured or laics, were employed in study, that is, either in reading the Scriptures or in learning the Psalms. Never through fear or respect did he fail to reprove the rich if they had gone wrong in aught, but corrected them, with a severe rebuke. He was never wont to give money to the powerful of the world, but what he got from them he gave to the poor, *i.e.*, dispensed in ransoming those who had been unjustly sold. The whole thought of Aidan and his successors and all the missionaries was to serve God, and not the world; their whole care to nourish the soul not the belly. Whence also the religious habit was held at that time in great veneration, so that wherever a priest or monk came he was received as the servant of God; and if they chanced to meet him on the way they ran to him and, bowing, were glad to be signed with his hand or blessed with his mouth. Also they gave heed diligently to his words of exhortation. On Sundays they flocked eagerly to the church or the monasteries, not to feed their bodies but to hear the word of God. Stirred up by Aidan's example, men and women who were "religious" adopted the custom of fasting on Wednesdays and Fridays till the ninth hour (three o'clock) throughout the year, except during the fifty days after Easter. They were so free from worldly avarice that none of them received lands and possessions for building monasteries unless they were compelled to do so by "the powers that be," which custom was for some little time after (664) observed in all the Churches of Northumbria.

Bede almost forgave Aidan for keeping Easter on the 14th moon.

He kept it not, as some falsely suppose, on the 14th moon on any day of the week with the Jews, but on the Lord's Day, from the 14th moon to the 20th, on account of his belief in the Lord's Resurrection on that day. In the celebration of his Easter he kept in heart, venerated, and preached nothing but what we do, that is the redemption of the human race through the Passion and Resurrection into Heaven of the Mediator between God and men, of the Man Jesus Christ.[21] And Aidan's teaching was chiefly commended to all by the circumstance that he himself taught no otherwise than as he and his followers lived.

[21] Aidan died in 651 and was succeeded by Finan, who was succeeded in 661 by Coleman, another monk from Iona. All three had episcopal charge of all Northumbria. It was in Coleman's time that the great conflict, as Bede calls it, took place on the Easter question at Whitby. The dispute ended in the rout of the Columban, and the triumphant entry of the Benedictine, monks.

We may add here, with Bede, "But enough has now been said on this subject."[22]

It is needless to say that we do not intend to open here the question of the Easter controversy. We shall only offer some observations to enable our readers to understand the precise issue, to use a legal phrase, which was raised at Whitby. The Jewish year was lunar, each month consisting of 28 days, and commencing with the new moon. The first month of the year was called Nisan. The full moon was on the 14th, and to bring the lunar year into correspondence with the solar an intercalary month was introduced, so that the 14th of Nisan fell on the 14th of the first month after the vernal equinox, as a general rule. The 14th day of the *visible* moon in Nisan is held to have determined the Jewish Passover. "In the 14th day at even is the Lord's Passover." And again: "In the first month, on the 14th day of the month, at even, ye shall eat unleavened bread until the one and twentieth day of the month at even." All parties agreed that the Passion of our Lord occurred on the 14th Nisan, and that, counting inclusively, the Resurrection occurred on the third day following. If the 14th Nisan fell on a Friday all parties agreed in celebrating the Passion on that Friday and the Resurrection on the following Sunday.

When, however, the 14th Nisan did not fall on a Friday, but, say, on a Monday, a divergence began. The *Quartodecimans*, *i.e.*, the fourteenth-day men, as they were called, celebrated the Passion on the Monday, regulating the time of the celebration solely by the day of the month; while the Orthodox, as we may call them in that case, waited until the following Friday to celebrate the Passion and for the following Sunday to celebrate the Resurrection. Again, of the *Quartodecimans*, there were two kinds, *i.e.* (1) One, the heretical Ebionites "who held, with the continuance of the obligation of ancient (Jewish) law in general, the validity of the old legal Passover. Their festival, then, properly speaking, was not Christian; it was rather Jewish (293)."[23] (2) There was a second kind of *Quartodecimans*, who believed in the abrogation of

[22] What we have written is condensed from *H. E.* III., c. 5, and 26. Bede's language has been retained as far as possible.

[23] *Hefele I.* (Clark), I. 293.—The numerals in brackets refer to the pages of this volume.

the Old Law, and celebrated Easter on the 14th Nisan, as a Christian celebration, irrespective of the day of the week. It was these latter, we think, that the Council of Nicæa had principally in view. None of the Canons of the Council of Nicæa, not even those of doubtful authenticity, treat of the celebration of the Easter festival (327). Perhaps the Council wished to conciliate those who were not ready to give up immediately the customs of the (Orthodox) *Quartodecimans*. It refused to anathematise a practice which had been handed down from apostolic times in several Orthodox Churches (328). There were, besides the Canons, (1) an Encyclical Letter of the Council, which states, "All the brethren in the East, who formerly celebrated Easter with the Jews, will henceforth keep it with the Romans;" and (2) the circular letter of the Emperor Constantine, which is more specific:—

> In rejecting their (*i.e.*, the Jewish) custom, we shall transmit to our descendants the legitimate mode of celebrating Easter, which we have observed from the time of the Saviour's Passion to the present day (*according to the days of the week*).[24] We ought not, therefore, to have anything in common with the Jews, for the Saviour has shown us another way; our worship follows a more legitimate and more convenient course (the *order of the days of the week*). Unanimously adopting this, we desire, dearest brethren, to separate ourselves from the detestable company of the Jews (322)."

The Gaelic use conformed strictly to this. The Passion was celebrated on Friday, and the Resurrection on Sunday. And further, when the 14th Nisan fell on Sunday they celebrated Easter on that day, as was, of course, done always by the orthodox Quartodecimans; and they always asserted, as the fact was, that in doing so they followed the use of the party calling themselves *Johannites*, rejecting, however, that portion of their use which allowed the celebration on week days of Easter, thus conforming to the circular letter of the Emperor. When the 14th Nisan fell on Sunday the Roman use was to wait for the next Sunday, so that the Roman Palm Sunday was the Easterday of the Gael. When the 14th Nisan did not fall on Sunday there was no difference between them.

And how often would the 14th Nisan fall on Sunday? Easter is not regulated according to the *visible* moon or the mean astronomical moon, nor by the true calculated time of the new moon.

[24] N.B.—The words in brackets are Hefele's, indicating his view, to which we attach the highest importance.

Easter is regulated according to the age of the *Calendar* or Ecclesiastical moon. All the day on which the new moon is supposed to occur (*i.e.* the calendar moon) though it be only a minute before midnight, is reckoned the first day of the moon. Easter day is the Sunday following that *fourteenth day* of the *Calendar* moon, which 14th day happens upon or next after the 21st day of March. So that if the said 14th day be a Sunday, Easter day is not that Sunday, but the next. The earliest possible Easter is thus the 22nd March, the latest the 25th April. If the 14th moon falls on 20th day of March it is necessary to wait for the 14th day of the next moon, which will fall on the 18th of April, and if this day is Sunday, Easter day will be the following Sunday, April 25th. We are unable to say how often the 14th moon fell on the 21st day of March; but we find it stated that Easter occurred only four times on the 22nd day of March since the new style was introduced (1582). In 1761 and 1818 Easter day fell on 22nd of March, but neither in the present nor in the following century will this be the case again, and we fancy the 14th moon did not fall oftener on the 21st of March. The latest Easter occurs, in the 19th and 20th centuries, in 1886 and 1943 only. So that the 14th moon appears, as we infer, to occur only on these occasions, on the 20th of March, as we have explained.

This question of the celebration of Easter on the 14th moon being Sunday, which we shall call the Gaelic use, must be kept distinct from the question of the methods of computing the various *cycles*.[25]

[25] The Easter question is discussed by A. De Morgan in the *Companion to the British Almanack*, 1845. In this year the full moon that came first after the 21st of March—*i.e.*, the *moon of the heavens*—was Easter Sunday, which was regulated by the *Calendar*.

To illustrate our view let us explain. A new calendar moon (epact) on the 8th March becomes "the 14th moon" on the 21st. Therefore, to have a 14th moon on the 21st we must have a new moon on the 8th March. Now, referring to the "Extended Table of Epacts," *i.e.*, new moons, in *Encyclopædia Britannica* (vol. iv., 673) the line B represents the line of epacts for three centuries, from 900 to 1200. The epact for the 8th of March during this period is 23, which does not occur among the epacts on line B, so that for these three centuries there will be no new calendar moon on the 8th March, and no 14th moon on the 21st March, and no Easter Sunday on the 22nd. The epact 23 occurs in other lines of epacts generally once in the cycle of 19 years, never more, in the Table mentioned, so that if the new moon fell on the 8th, as the 14th might fall on any day of the week, it is against probability that it would occur more than once in a century. The writer of the article on Easter (in the *Dict. of Christ. Antiq.*, vol. I., p. 673) says that the 14th moon fell on Sunday (the 21st of March as we understand him) in 645, 647, 648, 651. This means that the new moon fell on the 8th of March in each of these years, and that the 14th fell always on the Sunday. There must be some mistake here. Bede refers to one occasion only.

We cannot open the question of the formation of the cycles here. The difficulties of arranging one which should give a true equinox, a true new moon, with fixed days of the month and week, were practically insuperable. The age of the moon, for one thing, varied with longitude. The moon at Dublin might rise at 10 minutes after 12 o'clock at midnight on the 20th of March, and Easter would come on that moon. At Greenwich it would rise 10 minutes before midnight on the 20th of March, and it would be necessary to wait for the next moon. There were numerous cycles. We need only mention Hippolytus, a cycle of 16 years (A.D. 225*c*); Theophilus of Alexandria, A.D. 380, with a cycle of 437 years; Cyril of Alexandria, A.D. 412, with one of 95 years, which was very celebrated; Victorinus, of Acquitaine, said to be the real author of the Dionysian cycle of 532 years, which is assigned to A.D. 530*c*, and which was arranged by Dionysius Exiguus, an abbot at Rome. The divergences between these cycles were very great, and Easter was celebrated by the orthodox at widely different times.

In 387, as we learn from a letter of St. Ambrose (Ep. 23), the churches of Gaul kept Easter on the 21st of March, the churches of Italy on April the 18th, and the churches of Egypt on April the 25th. But the Gaelic use had nothing to say to this, and this divergence would have existed just the same if the Gael kept the Roman Easter as defined by Bede, *i.e.*, from the 15th to the 21st moon. The only difference that could have arisen from the Gaelic use was that the Roman Palm Sunday might possibly be the Gaelic Easter day once or twice in a century. There remained, however, in the Gaelic use what the old lawyers would call a *scintilla* of heresy, just enough to enable an adroit adversary to brand them as *Quartodecimans*, and as some Quartodecimans were heretics, an undetected flaw in the logic would carry him through in proving that the Scots were heretics and should be "eliminated" by the secular arm. Aldhelm charges the Cornish with being Quartodecimans and heretics.[26] Sigebert, a Benedictine monk of Gembloux, near Namur (1103-1112), states boldly that "Columba, in his rustic simplicity, neither learned nor taught the celebration of Easter on the Sunday,"[27]

[26] *H. & S.* III, 271.

[27] Columba rusticas implicitate pascha dominica die celebrari neque didicit neque docuit. *Mon. Germ.* VII. 330, *ad. ann.* 598.

i.e., that he kept Easter on week-days like the heretical Quartodecimans. The letter from Rome in 640 during the vacancy of the chair, equivalent to a Papal Rescript, which is given by Bede, refers to the Gaelic use, as a renovation of the *Quartodeciman* heresy, "endeavouring against the true Faith to revive a new heresy from an old one and striving to celebrate Easter on the 14th moon with the Jews.[28] Finally, "it was revealed by the Holy Spirit" to a Benedictine nun, as she tells us, in 1170, and published under authority to the world in her *Life of St. Desibod* (+674), that when he was bishop of some unnamed See in Ireland (probably not long before the Synod at Whitby), which he held, she says, for ten years, the people rejecting the Old and New Testament and, rejecting Christ, *followed the sect of the Jews.*[29] It was undoubtedly on the charge of heresy, as we shall see, that the Columban monks were, in Bede's words, "exposed and eliminated"—literally turned out of house and home; in one hateful word, *evicted.*[30]

[28] Novam ex veteri hæresi renovare conantes . . . pascha nostrum refutantes et xiiii., luna cum Hebræis celebrare nitentes.—*H. E.* ii. c. 19.

[29] Aliis quidam Veteri et Novo Testamento resistentibus Christumque abnegantibus aliis sectam Judæorum apprehendentibus.—*Vita Disibodi*, Migne, tom. 97, p. 1,100. "Est historia divinitus revelata sed (sic) propter anthoris singularem sanctitatem et authoritatem minime contemnenda!"—*Surius Vita*, July 8.

[30] Detecta et eliminata ut supra docuimus Scotorum secta—*H. E.*, v. 19. "The name 'Quartodecimans' was always a handy stick with which to beat the Celtic dog."—Plummer, *H. E.*, ii. 114. Surely it is a cruel and cowardly policy to cudgel the watch-dog to placate the highwayman.

CHAPTER XXV.

THE SECT OF THE SCOTS.

ROME was not consulted and knew nothing about the proceedings that led up to the elimination of the "Sect of the Scots." Deusdedit was then Archbishop of Canterbury. He had neither art nor part in them. This will, of course, carry no weight with men who still maintain that the Scottish church was independent, and not in communion with Rome. We shall not pause here to argue this point. The statement of our apostle, which we have already given, suffices for us, and if any of our readers desires corroboration he will find abundant evidence in the Essays of Cardinal Moran. There is, however, another view which is more insidious and equally untenable. It is indicated by the heading of the chapter in which Montalembert introduces the career of Wilfrid: *St. Wilfrid establishes Roman Unity and the Benedictine Order.* And again—*The end of the Celtic Heresy.*[1]

This view when developed reaches the proposition that the Gaelic Church, while admitting and submitting to the supreme authority and jurisdiction of the Holy See in matters of doctrine, was disobedient, recalcitrant, schismatical, and, possibly, heretical in matters of discipline, in which it maintained an independent attitude. The letters of Columbanus to the Holy See prove conclusively that he was not only ready to accept, but eager to receive, the "Cathedral Judgment" of the Pope on the Paschal question.

There are some expressions in these letters for which he himself claims a very necessary indulgence. It was, however, no unusual thing in mediæval times for the Pope to receive a little lecture from some male or female saint, generally veiled under the form of exhortation. These, Gregory, being a monk himself, and thus knowing the ways of monks, would read

[1] Book XII., c. 3.

with a smile. *Autres temps, autres moeurs.* "The native liberty of my race," writes Columbanus, "has given me that boldness. With us it is not the person but reason that counts." (*Non enim apud nos persona sed ratio valet.*) "We are bound to the chair of Peter. There has never been either a heretic, a Jew, or a schismatic amongst us. We receive nothing more than the apostolical and evangelical doctrine. Rome is the head of the Churches of the world, saving only the special prerogative of the place of the Lord's resurrection,"[2] Columbanus evidently refers to the 7th Nicæan Canon, which has puzzled many, but was evidently intended to preserve some honorary privilege to the Church of Jerusalem as being the oldest. A courtier priest would not have mentioned it here; but then courtier priests are seldom saints.

The letters of Columbanus to Gregory and to Boniface not only show clearly that he recognized the authority of the Holy See in matters of discipline but intimate plainly that he was prepared to abide by the Pope's decision on the Paschal question. In the first letter to Gregory he seeks his guidance (1) on the Paschal question (2) on holding communion with simoniacal bishops, of whom there were many in the province (*i.e.*, Gaul), and (3) about clerics who had been promoted to the rank of bishops after violating the rules as to celibacy[3] whilst deacons. And in the letter to Pope Boniface he says—"We pour forth our prayers to thee that if it be not contrary to faith you will give us, struggling pilgrims, the comfort of your pitiful decision, by which you will support the tradition of our elders, by which it will be in our power, by your judgment, during our pilgrimage (in this life) to keep Easter according to the use we have received from our fathers."[4] If the Holy See had then adjudged that the keeping of Easter on the 14th moon, being Sunday, was contrary to the faith, or enjoined the use of a particular cycle, it is plain that Columbanus and his *muintir* would, though perhaps grudgingly, and with ill grace, have acquiesced. The Holy See did neither.

[2] Roma orbis terrarum caput est ecclesiarum salva loci Dominicæ resurrectionis singulari prærogativa.—7th Canon.

[3] Columbanus calls it *adulterium cum clientelis*, which probably meant simple concubinage.

[4] Preces fundimus ut nobis peregrinis laborantibus tuae piae sententiæ præstes solatium quo si non contra fidem est, nostrorum traditionem robores seniorum quo ritum Paschæ sicut accepimas a majoribus observare per tuum possimus judicium in nostra peregrinatione.—Migne, vol. 80, p. 269.

The contents of Columbanus's letters to Gregory, we may assume, became known to the bishops. The letters were intercepted, and never reached the Pope. And the bishops in turn retaliated on Columbanus for his opposition to popular vices. They denounced him as a Quartodeciman. "We ought not," they proclaimed (as Columbanus states in one of his letters to Pope Gregory) "celebrate Easter with the Jews: *Cum Judæis Pascha facere non debemus.*" A reformer is bound to make bitter enemies, and Columbanus could not expect to fare better than St. Martin.[5] On his arrival in France the moral condition of the whole nation was deplorable.

The Merovingian kings practised polygamy and simony, and concubinage prevailed amongst the clergy. Nor were the nunneries free from scandals. A short time before his arrival a mutiny took place in the great convent of St. Croix at Poictiers. It was headed by a princess of the reigning house. The mutineers broke out of the convent. Grave scandals followed. The princess assembled an army of desperadoes, stormed the convent, and threatened to throw the abbess over the battlements. Under the circumstances, Columbanus, even if his ways were gentle, tactful, and conciliatory—which we must admit they were not—could not avoid making enemies. He was expelled by Brunehault, but his mission had done, and continued still to do, good work and prosper. Luxeuil became the recognised monastic capital of all the countries under Frankish government—a nursery of bishops and abbots, of preachers and reformers. From the banks of the Lake of Geneva to the North Sea every year saw the rise of some daughter house. "It would be a hard task," says Montalembert, "to trace that monastic colonization of Gaul, which had during the whole of the 7th century its centre in Luxeuil." We may mention Lure, Romain Moutier in a pass on the southern side of the Jura, Beze, St. Ursanne, at the head waters of the Doubs, Moustier-Grandval, Corbie eight

[5] Martin after returning to his diocese (after saving the lives of the Priscillianists (whom the bishops desired that Maximus should have executed for heresy) had also to undergo the scandalous envy and enmity of many bishops and of those priests of Gaul who had been so soon tainted by Roman luxury, etc.—Montalembert, I. 344.

After St. Jerome (+420) St. Augustin (+430) after the fathers of Lerins whose splendour faded towards 450, there was a kind of eclipse, and the monastic institution seemed to have fallen into the sterility and torpor of the East.—Montalembert, I. 384.

miles east of Amiens, from which went St. Ansgar, the apostle, of Sweden and the Danes, St. Bertin at St. Omer, St. Riquier, near the Somme, Fontenelle and Jumieges, in the diocese of Rouen, near the Seine, Reuil and Rebais, near the Marne, Lagny-sur-Marne, where St. Fursey died, Moutier la Celle, near Troyes, and further east Hautvilliers and Moutier-en-Der, St. Sallberga, near Laon, Solognac, near Poictiers, St. Gall, near the spot where the Rhone enters Lake Constance, Dissentis at the head waters of the Rhine, Bobbio near the classic Trebbia, 25m. S.E. of Pavia where the great apostle died in 615 A.D. and, last but not least, the foundations, more celebrated as convents for ladies than as monasteries, Jonarre near Meaux, the diocese of Bossuet, Faremoutier in Champagne, and Remiremont,[6] in the Vosges Mountains 15m. S.E. of Epinal. From the death of Columbanus (615) when his *muintir* seemed to be solidly established in France, a movement commenced to get rid of the Columban system and replace it by the Benedictine. This was supported by the whole weight of the Papacy from Gregory onwards. The Benedictines were then all-powerful.

A *condominium* was the first step. The two rules were placed side by side in the Columban house, and as the Benedictine yoke was lighter and the reins more loosely held, it gradually prevailed. It was only natural that the monks should choose the easiest road to Heaven, though in the result it might prove somewhat longer than they expected, In the words of Montalembert: "Columbanus sowed and Benedict reaped."[7] Finally things came to such a pass that the rule of the *condominium* had to be reformed, and the reformed rule, at the instance of St. Benedict of Aniane, was made compulsory and enforced, as we have already mentioned, by the secular arm on all monasteries within the empire. Even as early as *670*, at a Council at Autun of 54 bishops, held by St. Leger, the observance of the rule of St. Benedict was enjoined on all "regulars" *i.e.*, monks. This was only six years after

[6] The nuns were afterwards changed to Canonesses. The Abbess alone took perpetual vows. Proofs of nobility were required as at Epinal and Porresey. In the last mentioned, which was the lowest in rank, eight paternal and eight maternal quarterings were required. The Canonesses were called the *ladies* of Remiremont, the *chambermaids* of Epinal and the *laundresses* of Porresey. This was of course after the "elimination" of the Columban monks, when the Abbess ranked as a princess of the Holy Roman Empire.—Montalembert II., 351.

[7] Hefele (Clark) Vol. C.

the Synod of Whitby, to which we must now direct our narrative.[8]

The protagonist, perhaps we should say the persecutor, in the controversy was Wilfrid, then thirty years of age, who had recently received priest's orders. His life has been written by Eddi, or Eddius, a Benedictine monk, who published it with the approval of his superiors. It may, therefore, be fairly regarded as an official record of Wilfrid's life from the Benedictine standpoint. What Bede has said about him rests almost entirely on the narrative of Eddius, except the account he gives of the Synod of Whitby, and here he is fuller, more learned and less reliable. We shall follow Eddius. From him we learn that Wilfrid came of a good Northumbrian family. In his 14th year he entered Lindisfarne, where, as we have seen, the Columban monks kept a school for gentle and simple.

It is said he did not agree with his stepmother, which, judging from after events, does not at all imply that the fault was entirely on her side. Eddius tells us that his father provided him with a suitable princely outfit, arms and horses, for himself and his attendants (pueris), and, giving him his blessing, sent him to the King's Court at Bamborough. Here he was well received by the men whom he waited on at his father's table. He was presented to the queen. His good looks and ready wit made a favourable impression, and she promised to befriend him. "He had left the broad acres of his father to seek a celestial kingdom," Eddius assures us. The princely equipment, however, would be more easily understood by us if he had earthly ambitions in view. At any rate he went to Lindisfarne, but though he remained there "a circle of years," probably four or five, he did not receive the tonsure. Then, being still a layman, "this wise-minded youth perceived by degrees that the way of virtue delivered by the Scots was very defective" and expressed a wish to visit Rome. The abbot at Lindisfarne at once assented to his dear son receiving the greatest of all earthly blessings, *i.e.*, the privilege of visiting the tombs of the apostles.[9] This does not look as if the

[8] The rule of Columbanus was gradually eclipsed, and the rule of Benedict was introduced and triumphed everywhere, whilst still we cannot instance a single man above the ordinary mark, a single celebrated saint who could have contributed to that surprising victory by his personal influence.—Montalembert II., 357.

[9] Hunc autem sensum domino suo enotuit, qui statim, ut erat sapiens, suggestum a Deo esse cognoscens consensum dedit filio suo carissimo omnis boni caput accipere.—Edd. c. 3.

Columbans were at variance with Rome, or had any great wish to retain Wilfrid in the monastery. The Queen Eanfleda, by the advice of his father, then sent him in honourable manner to her cousin, Erconbert, King of Kent. During his stay in Kent an incident occurred which ought to have taught him a lesson in toleration. At Lindisfarne he had learned the revised translation of the Psalter which Jerome made from the Septuagint. A less correct version, of an earlier date, a cursory revision of the old *Itala*, was in use in Kent. Nobody thought of persecuting the monks at Canterbury because they did not use the better recension. Wilfred learned their Psalter without demur, and was none the worse for it. After a year he set out with Benedict Biscop for Rome. They parted company at Lyons. Benedict went on to Rome and Wilfrid remained. Delfinus (*recte*, it is said, Annenundus) the archbishop, thought seemingly that Wilfrid was better suited for secular life, and offered to provide him with a wife in the person of his niece, saying, "If you remain with me I will give you faithfully a good part of the Gauls to govern as a secular (*in saeculam*) and the virgin daughter of my brother to wife, and will myself adopt you as a son." [10] Wilfrid answered, "that he had made a vow to the Lord that he would visit the Apostolic See to learn the rules of Ecclesiastical discipline, but if he lived he would see his face on his way back." To Rome then he went, and after a stay of six months returned to Lyons, where he remained three years. The archbishop then gave him the Roman tonsure and the order of subdeacon, probably intending to make him his successor (*heredem*), but he was unfortunately murdered in 657 or 658, on some political charge, by the order of Ebroin, the Mayor of the Palace. Wilfrid then returned to England. We can only surmise what would have happened but for the murder of the archbishop. Oswy's son, Alchfrid, was then sub-king over Deira, and all was well up to this time between him and the Columbans. Some three years before Alchfrid had invited Columban monks from Melrose and given them lands at

[10] Si manseris mecum fiducialiter dabo tibi bonam partem galliarum ad regendam in seculum, virginemque filiam fratris mei in uxorem, et teipsum adoptivum filium habebo et tu me patrem in omnibus fideliter adjuvantem.—Edd. *Vita*, c. 6.

We think the context supports the view we present that the offer was that Wilfrid should marry the niece and then take orders as a secular. It is very unlikely that the archbishop could have power to appoint a foreigner as civil governor over an important district. We cannot accept Major and Lumby's translation, "a good part of Gaul to rule *for ever*" (Bedae Hist., p. 271. We think *in saeculum* means here as a secular priest.

Ripon to build a monastery, which was in due time consecrated, and Eata became the first abbot. He was not destined to hold the abbey lands, the abbey, or the abbacy long. Wilfrid came upon the scene. He had evidently brought with him from the south of France the hostile feelings of the southern bishops against the Columban monks, and the old battlecry, "We ought not to celebrate Easter with the Jews." He had also brought with him, no doubt, the latest novelty in Paschal Tables—the Cycle of Dionysius the Little. Dionysius, a Scythian and a monk in a Roman monastery, in 526 drew up five nineteen-year cycles, from 532 to 626, and prefixed to his Table two explanatory letters. "The first letter contains one of the most audacious falsehoods on record. In elucidating the Easter method, he follows, he states, in all things the decree of the 318 Nicene Pontiffs, who composed a decemnovenal cycle of Paschal 14th moons to last for ever, a rule sanctioned by them not so much owing to secular knowledge as to illumination of the Holy Spirit.[11] This is taken from the Proterian letter, with 318 *Nicene Pontiffs* substituted for *our most blessed* (*Alexandrine*) *fathers* in the original!!" There was, as we have already stated, no such canon made at the Council of Nicæa; but if there had been one in the usual form, with an anathema against any one offending wilfully against it, he would have been outside the pale of the Church. Wilfrid, who is found at the court of Alchfrid as his adviser, soon after his arrival in Britain opened the campaign with an attack on Eata and the monks at Ripon. "Conform or clear out" was his ultimatum. The secular arm did the rest. Bede tells us in his Life of Cuthbert, "When some years after it pleased King Alchfrid, for the redemption of his soul, to give to the Abbot Eata a certain domain in his kingdom called Ripon, there to construct a monastery, the same Abbot took some of the brethren along with him, among whom Cuthbert was one. He founded the required monastery, and in it instituted the same discipline which he had previously established at Melrose." "Here Cuthbert was appointed as guest-master, and going out one day from the inner buildings of the

[11] Dr. MacCarthy in his note gives the parallel passages from the Proterian letter and Dionysius showing the falsification, and cites Duchesne (*Lib. Pontif.* (1886) p. lxiv.—"Cette decision n'a jamais existé.") *Ann. Ulst.* I.V. lvii.

monastery to the guest-chamber he found a young man there etc."—CVII. "Meanwhile, since the whole condition of this world is fragile and unsteady as the sea when a sudden tornado arises, the above-named abbot Eata, with Cuthbert and the rest of the brethren whom he had brought with him, were driven back home (*repulsus domum*) and all the monastery which he had founded, with the lands, was given to other monks to occupy."—CVIII. The Columbans, like many a Gael in after time, refused to conform, and were evicted, and their lands and buildings were taken over by Wilfrid, who had, moreover, previously obtained from Alchfrid a large grant of land at Stamford Bridge. "Further," writes Bede, "Alchfrid having for his instructor in Christian learning Wilfrid, a most learned man (for he had gone to Rome previously for the sake of ecclesiastical doctrine, and had spent a long time with Delfinus, Archbishop of Lyons, from whom also he had received the crown of the ecclesiastical tonsure) knew that his teaching was to be justly preferred to all the traditions of the Scots. Wherefore he had also given him a monastery of forty families in a place called Ripon, which place, to wit, he had granted some short time previously to those who followed the Scots as the possessors of a monastery. *But because afterwards when the option was given them they were willing rather to quit the place than to change their use, he gave it to him (i.e., Wilfrid) whose teaching and life were worthy of the place.*—H.E. III., c. 25. This iniquitous confiscation took place in 661 or, at latest, in 662; two or three years before the Synod at Whitby. The Columbans were evicted before trial, because their doctrine, not their computation on the Paschal question, was deemed not worthy of the place. Some time after this Wilfrid received the order of priesthood. Being in the diocese of Coleman, whom Eddius styles metropolitan bishop of York, Coleman was the proper person to ordain him, and no other prelate could, according to the well-established Canon, ordain a priest in his diocese without formal leave obtained from him. Wilfrid, however, disregarded the rule. Probably he did not consider Coleman a bishop at all, though Eddius inaccurately describes him as a metropolitan. There was at the time a bishop named Agilbert staying in Deira on his way to France. He was a Gaul by birth, but had lived many years in (the South of) Ireland

for the purpose of studying the Scriptures. Having been consecrated bishop he went into Wessex, where King Coinwalch appointed him bishop of his territory. He was probably consecrated in Ireland, as, if he had been consecrated in France, Bede would not have omitted to say so. After a time Coinwalch, tired of his barbarous dialect, divided the diocese and gave Wini an episcopal See in the southern half, at Winchester. Wini, we may add, was expelled a few years later, and then bought for money the episcopal See of London Agilbert took umbrage at the division of his diocese made without his consent. He was not content with the northern half, *i.e.*, with the See of Dorchester, and he resolved to leave Wessex and return to Gaul. He was, we may conjecture, on a visit to Deira before starting, when both he and Wilfrid set the Canon Law at defiance. When St. Falco of Tongres crossed the border of the diocese of St. Remigius and ordained priests at Mouzon, the latter wrote him a sharp letter, which has reached us. It runs: "I think it right to inform you that I have removed (*i.e.*, suspended?) those Levites and priests from their orders whom you have made against all order. It did not become me to acknowledge those whom it did not become you to ordain."

Having dislodged the enemy from Ripon, Wilfrid, now priest and abbot, advanced to the attack of Lindisfarne. Coleman "kept Easter with the Jews," therefore he was to be "eliminated." Well, if there was anything uncanonical in Coleman's position, the proper person to investigate this was the Archbishop Deusdedit, who had then metropolitan jurisdiction over all English Britain. He was not even consulted in the matter. Wilfrid, having Alchfrid to back him up, put King Oswy in motion, and what is called a Synod was assembled at Whitby in 664. Deusdedit was not, of course, present. "His absence is accounted for easily by the fact that the whole scheme was got up by Wilfrid's zeal, taking advantage of his friend Agilbert's visit to King Alchfrid, and to himself at Ripon, and was managed accordingly on the anti-Scottish side wholly by Agilbert and Wilfrid." [12]

Two accounts deserving notice have reached us concerning what occurred at the Synod of Whitby. The first is by Eddius or Eddi. He was a chanter at Canterbury, and was brought

[12] Haddon and Stubbs' Council, III., 106.

by Wilfrid to the north. He lived on the most intimate terms with him, and accompanied him to Rome on his second appeal after his second expulsion from his diocese in 704. After Wilfrid's death he was requested by Acca, Bishop of Hexham, and Tathbert, Abbot of Ripon, a kinsman of Wilfrid, to write his life. His MS. was, of course, submitted to them, and underwent the usual examination and *censura* of his monastic superiors. It must, therefore, be regarded as a contemporary official record of the Benedictine Order. It is brief and to the point. Bede's account, years later, is much longer and less reliable. Bede had himself written on the Paschal question,[13] and where he differs from Eddius the additions are, we think, his own views. And though his feelings towards the Scots are compassionate, appreciative, and sympathetic, still he, too, was writing under the *censura*, and a few of his sentences are so harsh that they seem to have been introduced to meet the views of his superiors, and, as it were, balance the softer judgments of Bede's kindly disposition. And this again leads him to soften and tone down the harsher and more masterful traits of Wilfrid's character, with which tendency the Benedictine *censors* did not quarrel We shall therefore follow Eddius as a general rule, condensing his narrative. He writes:—

One time, in the days when Coleman was Metropolitan Bishop of York, in the reign of Oswy and his son Alchfrid, abbots and priests and ecclesiastics of every degree assembled in the monastery which is called Whitby (Streaneshalgh) in the presence of the pious Hilda, Mother Abbess, and of the kings, and two bishops, Coleman and Agilbert, to try which was the true method of keeping Easter—whether according to the use of the Britons and Scots and all the northern region, from the 14th moon coming the Lord's Day to the 20th,[14], or whether it was more correct to celebrate Easter Sunday from the 15th moon to the 21st.

This was the only issue to be tried, which may be re-stated shortly thus:—Was Coleman justified in celebrating Easter on the 14th moon when it fell on Sunday?

In Ceolfrid's letter to Naiton, which was, it is now generally thought, composed by Bede, the charge formulated by Eddius is repeated, "that they (the Gauls) kept the paschal feast from the 14th to the 20th day of the moon." It was not

[13] *De Temp. Ration.* Bede arranged a Paschal Table from A.D. 532 to 1063 (c. 63). Ceolfrid's letter to Naiton is generally admitted to be Bede's.

[14] The text is confused or imperfect, but there is no doubt the 14th moon to the 20th is correct.

a question of cycles, except in so far as this use was disregarded. "I forebore," he adds, "to send you those cycles of times to come, because you asked only to be instructed concerning the principle or method (ratio) of the paschal season, and declared that you had abundance of those Catholic cycles for finding Easter." We may add that Naiton followed the Wilfrid precedent and expelled the Columban monks from his kingdom.[15] There was no question as to a 19 years cycle or an 84 years cycle, or any modification of them; and there was no question as to the form and shape of the correct tonsure. Wilfrid knew perfectly well that a bishop could not be deposed or "eliminated" on either question. St. Chrysostom had declared that no one was ever punished or called to account for not keeping Easter in this or that month. "Celebrating Easter with the Jews," as an unorthodox Quartodeciman, was, of course, a very different matter.[16]

The king presided seemingly over this august tribunal, and called on his bishop to defend his use. Coleman said, with undaunted courage, (*intrepida mente*):—

> Our fathers and those who went before them, inspired by the Holy Spirit, as was Columba, ordained (*sanxerunt*) the celebration of Easter on the 14th moon, (being) the Lord's Day, following the example of John the Apostle and Evangelist, who reclined in the bosom of the Lord, and was called the lover of the Lord. He celebrated Easter on the 14th moon, and we, as his disciples, Polycarp and others, on this trust, celebrate. Nor can we dare, nor do we wish, having regard for our fathers, to change.

Coleman was quite right in saying that what was known as the *Johannine* use was to celebrate on the 14th moon, being Sunday, as well as on week-days, as we have already stated.

Agilbert, a bishop from over sea, then directed Wilfrid—

[15] A.D. 717.—Expulsio familiæ Ie (Iona) trans dorsum Britanniae a Nectone rege Tigernach. Bede V., c. 25.

[16] It is said that the cycle then in use amongst the Scots was an 84 years cycle or an 84 years (12) cycle, while the Dionysian cycle was a modification of the Metonic 19 years cycle. Our readers, if curious, will find the matter discussed by no means clearly by Dr. Macarthy in the Introduction to the 4th vol. of the *Annals of Ulster*. He gives a list (i.e. 21) of Easters according to both cycles for 21 years before 664. In this period on no occasion did Easterday fall on Sunday, the 21st of March. He makes out that in the 21 years the King's Easter was 13 times earlier, and twice three weeks later, than the Queen's. Eddius does not refer to this, which makes us doubt its accuracy, and Bede merely says. "It is said to have happened in those times that Easter was kept twice in one year, and that when the King, having ended his time of fasting, kept his Easter. the Queen and her followers were still fasting and keeping Palm Sunday" (III. 26).

"a smooth-tongued and eloquent speaker"—to state in his own language the Roman use. He said with humility:—

This matter was formerly wondrously investigated by our fathers assembled in Nicæa, 318 in number, very holy and wise men, and they decreed, amongst other judgments, a lunar cycle coming round again in 19 years. And they never showed that Easter was to be kept on the 14th moon. This is the use (ratio) of the Apostolical See and of almost the whole world. And thus have our fathers adjudged after many decrees: "Whosoever shall reject (condemnaverit) any of these let him be anathema."

This was plainly a charge that Coleman had brought himself within the anathema. And there can be no reasonable doubt that it was on this ground he was compelled to leave the country with his supporters. There was, as we have stated, no such decision given at the Council of Nicæa. The language of the late Dr. Macarthy in his preface to the fourth volume of the Annals of Ulster[17] is scarcely too strong: "In the light of the history of the Paschal question Wilfrid's farrago of fictitious tradition and fabricated testimony (*i.e.*, the epistle already mentioned) can hardly fail to excite a smile. But it proved a grim reality for the vanquished. How all the Irish were got rid of on this pretext is beside the present question." The eminent theologian, King Oswy, then put a conundrum to the judicial and canonical tribunal. Smiling on Wilfrid, he put the question to all (*subridens presbytero interrogavit omnes dicens*): "Tell me which is the greater, Columbà or Peter the Apostle, in the Kingdom of Heaven?" All replied, "The Lord decided this, who said, 'Thou art Peter, etc., and I give you the keys of the Kingdom of Heaven, etc.'" (the well-known text). Again, the King said, tersely, "(As) he is the door-keeper and the key-keeper I will not enter the lists of controversy against him, nor assent to others doing so, and I will not in my lifetime contradict his decisions." This notable and comical judgment was, as Dr. Macarthy says, a grim reality for the Gael. After the expulsion of Coleman, Wilfrid, according to Eddius, was elected Bishop of Northumbria, *i.e.*, of Bernicia and Deira. Bede, however, says that Tuda, a correct Southern Irish bishop, was appointed, and it seems probable that he was only in temporary charge, or as is suggested by Plummer, that the arrangement at first was that Túda was to be Bishop

[17] *Ann. Ulst.*, Vol. IV., c. 57.

of Bernicia and Wilfrid Bishop of Alchfrid's sub-kingdom, Deira. Tuda died of the plague soon after, in 664, and Wilfrid then became bishop of the whole kingdom from the Humber to the Clyde. Eddius tells us that after his election he at once requested to be allowed to go to Gaul to be consecrated, objecting to receive consecration from the British bishops, "none of whom it is for me to accuse, though I know truly that they are Quartodecimans, like the Britons and the Scots, and were consecrated by those whom the Apostolic See receives not into communion, nor those who share their opinions." There was, he thus states most incorrectly, no bishop from whom it would be safe to receive orders. But Deusdedit, the Archbishop of Canterbury, was then a living man, so too, was Boniface—both unobjectionable. He had another motive. The King granted Wilfrid's request, got ready a ship, gave him an escort, and a "multitude of money, and sent him forward in honourable state." He was received in France with triumphal honours. No less than twelve bishops, one of whom was Agilbert, assembled for his consecration at Compiègne. At the ceremony he was lifted aloft on a golden chair by the twelve bishops and carried into the *oratorium*, while they chanted hymns and canticles. This ceremony took place probably in 664 or the beginning of 635. In the spring of 666 he sailed for England with 120 attendants. He was driven by contrary winds on the shore of the little kingdom of Sussex, where he and his party were assailed by the natives, who were still heathens. He had a narrow escape with his life, and he lost six of his companions. Thirteen years later he returned to this people and preached the gospel to them. "Some were baptised voluntarily, and some coerced by command of the King."[18] Wilfrid liked strong measures. No compulsion was ever used by the Gael.[19]

A story is told by Eddius which illustrates Wilfrid's overbearing character and high-handed methods. After he had been reinstated in the See of York, in the place of Chad, he, on one occasion, having restored an infant miraculously to

[18] Paganorum utriusque sexus, quidam voluntarie alii vero coacti regis imperio idolatriam deserentes.—Eddius c. 41.

[19] Ah nunc proh pudor! divinam fidem suffragia terrena commendant, inopsque virtutis suæ Christus, dum ambitio nomine suo conciliatur, arguitur. Deus non requirit coactam confessionem. Simplicitate quærendus est voluntatis probitate retinendus. Hilary Contr. Auxent. II., 4.

life and baptized it, enjoined upon the mother to bring the child when seven years old to him for the service of God, *i.e.*, to be a monk. This the mother promised to do. But at the instance of her wicked husband, who saw that the boy was comely and was unwilling to part with him, she disregarded her promise and fled. Thereupon the sergeant (Præfectus) of the Bishop made search for the boy, found him in hiding among the Britons, forcibly carried him off and brought him to the Bishop. The boy, who was called the "son of the Bishop," lived as a monk at Ripon, where he died of the plague.[20]

Wilfrid's prolonged absence from his extensive diocese seemed unaccountable to the Northumbrians. They prevailed on Oswy to nominate Chad, Abbot of Lastingham, to be Bishop. He was one of the twelve boys selected by Aidan, of whom we have already made mention, and was afterwards brought up in Ireland under monastic discipline. "A man of prayer, study, humility, purity and voluntary poverty," he was consecrated by Wini, Bishop of Winchester, with the assistance of two British bishops, and then took possession of his See, which comprised all Northumbria. Wilfrid, on arriving in the north, acquiesced for some time, and retired to his monastery at Ripon. Theodore made his entry as Archbishop into Canterbury on May 27th, 669, and soon after made a visitation of the north. During this he inquired into the validity of Chad's election. "If you are pursuaded," said Chad, "that I received the episcopate in an irregular manner, I willingly retire from the office, for I never thought myself worthy of it." He submitted at once to the jurisdiction and judgment of Canterbury, as Coleman would have done undoubtedly had that jurisdiction been appealed to. Wilfrid then took possession of Northumbria, and soon afterwards Theodore procured for Chad the bishopric of the Mercians. Eddius tells us that Chad saw and admitted the error of his ordination by the *Quartodecimans* to the bishopric of another, and that the bishops "then ordained him fully through all the ecclesiastical orders,"[21] to the Mercian

[20] Eddius c. 18.

[21] Per omnes gradus ecclesiasticos ad sedem predictam (*i.e.*, Licitfelda, Lichfield) plene eum ordinaverunt.—Edd. c. xv. Theodore's Penitential enjoins that "one who has been ordained by heretics shall be ordained over again if blameless."

bishopric of Lichfield (669). This leaves no room for doubt that Eddius, Wilfrid, and the monks of Ripon regarded the orders of Chad as invalid.

Wilfrid ruled the diocese of Northumbria from 669 to 678. In the latter year Theodore divided this diocese and consecrated three new bishops for the new dioceses. Wilfrid resisted and appealed to Rome. The king, Egfrid, who had suceeded Oswy in 672, and—more important still—the reining queen, Ermemburga, his second wife, were bitterly hostile to him. Etheldreda, Egfrid's first wife, was the daughter of Anna, King of East Anglia, and had been married first to Tonbert, a chieftain in Cambridgeshire, who had died three years after the marriage. She was then married to Egfrid, in whose house she lived for twelve years. At the end of this period she expressed a great desire to become a nun, and alleged that she had preserved her virginity in both wedlocks. At her marriage with Egfrid, he gave her as a wedding gift a territory at Hexham, twelve miles long and six miles broad, good land, well situated,[22] and Wilfrid stated to Bede that Egfrid offered him large sums if he would induce her to live with him as a real, not a nominal, wife. Wilfrid, however, took sides with the lady. She received the veil from him, and he received from her the territory at Hexham. Egfrid then, during her lifetime, married Ermemburga, the sister-in-law of Centwine, King of Essex.

"At the instigation of the devil, who armed himself, as usual, with the fragile sex," Eddius tells us, "like another Jezabel, she (Ermemburga) poisoned the king's mind against Wilfrid, dilating on his secular glory, his wealth, the multitude of his monasteries, the magnitude of his edifices, the innumerable army of his retainers, equipped with regal arms and attire. 'Your whole kingdom is his bishopric,' she added, and both induced Theodore, by gifts, to join them in robbing Wilfrid of his property like footpads, and deprived him of his bishopric." So far Eddius.

Allowing for the exaggerations of an angry woman, it is still difficult to reconcile Wilfrid's position with the Benedictine

[22] Forty years after Heavenfield (635), Etheldreda gave the land near Hexham, twelve miles long and nearly six in breadth, to Wilfrid. It belonged to the queen, as part of her dower, as it was part of the private property of the royal family of Northumbria.—Raine, *Priory of Hexham*, I., 14.

vow of individual poverty—if he ever took it, or was not relieved of it, which is not stated.

This was Wilfrid's first expulsion. A second followed in aftertime. On both occasions Church and State in Britain were united against him, but in Rome his appeals were, on the whole, successful.

He was not, however, able to secure at home the fruits of his triumph, and after a term of imprisonment and many vicissitudes, he was finally, at the Synod on the Widd, near Ripon (705), allowed to hold the small see of Hexham and the abbey of Ripon. Four years later he was seized with a severe illness, and consternation fell on the Benedictine monks lest he should die before he had disposed of his monasteries and of his worldly goods. They assembled in hot haste, and much prayer was offered that he should be spared "until he had arranged for their future; *under abbots to be selected by himself* (sub præpositis a se selectis)." He recovered, and this was done, and he made his will. He designated his relative, Tathbert, to be abbot of Ripon. He invited two abbots and eight brethren to be present, and then ordered the custodian of his treasury (gazophylacem) to open his treasure-chest, and to bring forth all the gold and silver and precious stones and place them in view of all. He divided them into four parts. One, the best, he gave to the churches of St. Mary and St. Paul at Rome; the second to the poor; the third he divided between the abbots of Ripon and Hexham, that by gifts they might secure (impetrare ?) the friendship of kings and bishops; and the fourth he gave to those friends who had suffered in exile with him, and to whom he had not already given estates (terras prædiorum). He died in 709 A.D., and was buried in the church of St. Peter at Ripon. His epitaph records amongst his merits that, "he corrected the celebration time of the Paschal festival according to the correct dogma of the Catholic canon which the Fathers ordained."[23] This clearly refers to the supposed canon of Nicæa which Wilfrid relied on at Whitby. It is noteworthy that Bede does not mention this canon in the letter of Ceolfrid to Naiton, though he was well acquainted with the works of Dionysius Exiguus. He does represent Wilfrid at Whitby as

[23] Paschalis qui etiam sollemnia tempora cursus Catholici ad justum correxit dogma canonis quem statuere patres *i.e.* the Nicæan Fathers.—H. E., V., c. 19.

referring to "decrees of the Apostolic See and of the Universal Church," in a vague manner. (II., c. 25).

The evils following from this state of religious anarchy were such as might be expected. As we pass from the pure and bracing spirituality of the Columban monks we quickly perceive that we are in an atmosphere laden with the languorous odours of wealth and worldliness, of ambitious rivalries and moral disorder. Bede's letter to Egbert, Archbishop of York, written towards the close of his life (734), presents a dark picture of degeneracy. He writes:—

> It is commonly reported that certain bishops seek those who are given up to revelling, etc., drunkenness, etc., and the allurements of loose living. There are many villages and cells situated in accessible mountains never visited by the bishops to whom they pay tribute, and without any teacher whatsoever. When a bishop, stimulated by the love of money, has taken upon himself the prelacy over a greater number of people than he can visit in a year, he has the title, but not the functions, of a bishop. More bishops are necessary. To maintain such, let the numberless places which have the name of monasteries, but nothing of the monastic mode of life, be transferred from the purposes of luxury to those of chastity, from vanity to temperance, from excess and gluttony to continence and piety of heart. Again, laics found monasteries and fill the cells with expelled monks, and found nunneries and place their wives over them, and get laymen tonsured and made abbots, and in both these the greatest disorder prevails. So many have got into their power places of this kind under the name of monasteries that there is no place for the sons of the nobility or veteran soldiers to occupy, and accordingly, when they arrive at the years of puberty they live in idleness and unmarried, without any purpose of continence, and give themselves up to luxury and fornication, and do not even abstain from the virgins consecrated to God.

Quid plura?

Coleman was happily spared the anguish of witnessing the blight which had fallen on the vineyard in which during thirty years the sons of Columba had been gathering a rich vintage for the Lord. From Whitby he went to Holy Isle and collected his treasures to take back with him to the Mother Church at Iona. These consisted of the bones of his predecessor, the sainted Aidan. Part he left with the brethren there at their earnest entreaty, part he put in his wallet, and with his bundle on his shoulder, like many an evicted Gael since his day, he tramped across Alba with a sore heart, not, however, bewailing his own fate, but grieving that the flock which he had loved, and for which he would gladly have laid down his life, was now left without its shepherd, and that the fold was left unguarded for the intruder to leap into it.

CHAPTER XXVI.

THE EMERALD RING.

AT the beginning of the eleventh century two "world policies" met in conflict which, with some exaggeration of the outlines to make the objects clearer, may be roughly described as follows :—The first was an attempt on the part of the Emperor, in addition to his temporal power as head of the Holy Roman Empire, to control the exercise of the spiritual power and make the Pope an adjunct of the German Chancery, whose principal function was to be the excommunication of the Emperor's foreign and domestic enemies. The second was a claim on the part of the Pope, in addition to his spiritual power, to be the temporal owner of the Western Empire from the Adriatic to St. George's Channel, by virtue of a donation from Constantine the Great to Pope Sylvester. This donation is now universally admitted to be a forgery attributable to the first half of the eighth century, but was universally accepted by the orthodox, even by jurists, as genuine, until it was proved to be spurious by the criticism of Laurentius Valla and others in the fifteenth century. It is a long, rambling document. It recites that Constantine was afflicted with leprosy, and that the physicians having failed to cure him, the priests of the Capitol came to him, saying, "That a font should be made on the Capitol and that he should fill it with the blood of innocent infants, and that if he bathed in it while it was warm he might be cleansed; that when very many innocent children had been brought together, and the priests wished them to be slaughtered, he, perceiving the tears of the mothers, abhorred the deed and restored the children to their mothers, with gifts." The following night the Apostles, St. Peter and St. Paul, appeared to him and told him to go and receive the teaching of Pope Sylvester, and that in the waters of baptism he would be cleansed of his leprosy. This he did and was cleansed, and then perceiving, "that where the supremacy of priests and the head of the Christian religion had been

established by a Heavenly Father it was not just that there an earthly ruler should have jurisdiction," he resolved to transfer his empire and the seat of his power to the East, and make Byzantium his capital. He then granted to Pope Sylvester, and his successors, his palace (*i.e.*, the Lateran), "the city of Rome and all the provinces, districts, and cities of Italy, and of the Western regions. And he conjured all the people in the whole world then, and in all times previously, subject to his rule, under pain of damnation, not to oppose or disregard this grant in any way."

In an earlier part of the donation we find the famous "Islands Clause," which we give textually, omitting some particulars :—

Meanwhile; we wish all the people of all the races and nations throughout the whole world to know that we have constructed within our Lateran Palace to the same Saviour, our Lord God, Jesus Christ, a Church, with a baptistery, from the foundations. And know that we have carried on our shoulders, from its foundation, twelve baskets weighted with earth, according to the number of the twelve apostles. We have also constructed the churches of SS. Peter and Paul, chief of the apostles. . . . And on these churches, for the providing of lights, we have conferred estates (from our) possessions, and have enriched them with many things, and bestowed upon them our bounty, by the solemnities of our imperial decrees, as well in the east as in the west, and even in the northern and southern region, to wit, in India, Greece, Asia, Thrace, Africa, and Italy, *and in divers islands*, on this condition, that all should be administered by our most blessed father, Pope Sylvester, and his successors.[1]

It is to the "Islands Clause" that John of Salisbury manifestly refers in the extracts which we shall give, after stating a few facts about him. He was born near Salisbury, made his studies in France for ten or twelve years, and was present at the Council held at Rheims by Eugenius III. in the spring of

[1] Interea nosse volumus omnem populum universarum gentium per totam orbem terrarum construxisse nos intra palatium nostrum Lateranense eidem Salvatori nostro Domino Deo Jesu Christo ecclesiam de fundamentis, secundum numerum duodecim apostolorum cofinos terra onustos propriis asportasse humeris . . . . Construximus etiam ecclesias beatorum Petri et Pauli principum apostolorum . . . . . quibus pro concinnatione luminariorum possessionum prædia contulimus, et rebus diversis eas ditavimus et per nostras jussionum imperialium sacras, tam in oriente quam in occidente vel etiam in septentrionali et meridiana plaga, videlicet in India, Græcia, Asia, Thracia, Africa, et Italia, *vel diversis insulis*, nostram largitatem eis concessimus, ea prorsus ratione ut per manus beatissimi patris nostri Sylvestri pontificis successorumque ejus omnia disponantur. —*Constitutum* Constantini. Zeumer (Ed. 1888), p. 55.

The old home of the Laterani had passed to Fausta, the daughter of the Emperor Maximian, and she brought it to Constantine on her marriage with him, A.D. 307. Constantine gave it to Melchiades, and afterwards confirmed the grant to Sylvester, who resided there. Within the precincts Constantine and Sylvester built the vast basilica known as the "Lateran," and dedicated to the Saviour.

1148. It would appear that after the Council was over he attended the Pope to Brescia and then went on to Rome. He returned to England in 1150 and was introduced to Archbishop Theobald by St. Bernard, the Hildebrand of the 12th century. St. Bernard wrote a strongly-worded letter, recommending him "a friend of mine and of my friends" to the Archbishop, and requesting that provision should be made for him decently, nay honourably and promptly, as he did not know where to turn; for he was of good report, which he had deserved by his life and learning. "This I know, not from men who use words lightly, but from my own (spiritual) sons who are with me, and whose words I believe as I would my own eyes."[2] The Archbishop, who, owing to the long absences of Henry II. in France, had a principal share in the government of the country, took him into his service and he was employed in important business abroad. He tells us that between 1150 and 1159 he crossed the Alps ten times. He was with Eugenius III. at Ferrentino from November, 1150, to June, 1151, and again in May, 1152; and between November, 1155, and June, 1156, he spent three months with Adrian IV. at Benevento.[3] Adrian died on September 1st, 1159, at Anagni, and the news of his death reached John shortly afterwards and caused him poignant grief. "Our lord, Pope Adrian, is dead," he wrote in the *Metalogicus*—a work on which he was then engaged. "His death will be wept by all good men, but by none more than by myself. Omnibus ille bonis flebilis occidit, sed nulli flebilior quam mihi. He had his mother and uterine brother, but he loved me with closer affection, for he confessed in public and in private that he loved me above all mortals. Such was his opinion of me that when opportunity offered he used to delight in laying bare to me his inmost thoughts, and after he became Roman Pontiff he was glad to have me as a guest at his own table, and would have me, against my wish, to drink out of the same cup and eat out of the same dish. At my solicitation he gave and granted Hibernia to Henry II., the illustrious King of England, to hold by hereditary right, as his letter which (is extant) to this day testifies. For all islands, of ancient right, according to the donation of Constantine, are

[2] St. Bernard, Letter 361. Migne, vol. 182, p. 502. Theobald had been abbot of Bec.

[3] Jaffe II., 113, 120.

said to belong to the Roman Church, which he founded and endowed (*i.e.*, St. Peter's and St. Paul's). He sent also by me a ring of gold, with the best of emeralds set therein, wherewith the investiture might be made for his governorship of Ireland, and that same ring was ordered to be, and is still, in the public treasury of the king. If I were to state in detail its varied excellence, this one topic would supply matter for a volume."[4]

It will be observed that he says "at my solicitation," not at the request of Henry II., and that he is guarded in his reference to the Donation. He uses the words: "are said to belong" (dicuntur). The genuineness of the Donation was openly challenged in Rome at this time by the republicans or revolutionaries there. Wetzel wrote to the Emperor that the Donation was a lie, a heretical fable, and so found out that common workmen and old women "shut up even the most learned on the point."[5] The confidence of the orthodox in the genuineness of the Donation was, however, probably increased on finding it assailed by men who called them heretics. But it is difficult to understand how anybody could suppose that the Donation, even if it was genuine, conveyed the sovereignty of any island, when it deals explicitly with estates and things in the islands, and not with the islands themselves; or how, in the case of Ireland, Constantine could give away what he never possessed. However, Urban II., in a Bull, dated June 3rd, 1091, asserted that by the *Privilegium* of Constantine "*all the islands in the West* were bestowed on St. Peter and his successors in proprietary right, especially those situate about Italy."[6]

[4] Ad preces meas illustri Regi Anglorum Henrico Secundo concessit et dedit (*i.e.*, Adrianus) Hiberniam jure hereditario possidendam, sicut litteræ ipsius testantur in hodiernum diem. Nam omnes insulæ de jure antiquo ex donatione Constantini qui eam fundavit et dotavit dicuntur ad Romanam ecclesiam pertinere. Annulum quoque per me transmisit aureum smaragdo optimo decoratum quo fieret investitura juris in gerenda Hibernia, idemque adhuc annulus in curiali archio publico custodiri jussus est.—Giles, Vol. V., 205; Lib. IV., c. 42. The *Metalogicus* was completed in 1159, or in 1160 at the latest, and the passage cited is found in all the MSS. In 1159 Henry and Louis VII. were engaged in hostilities and opposing each other near Toulouse, to which Henry laid claim. There is a note by Pagi, which indicates that there was some estrangement between Adrian and his family. Giraldus, who wrote in 1174 or 1175, says :—"The same Pope (*i.e.*, Adrian IV.) sent by him (*i.e.*, John of Salisbury) to the King of England a gold ring in symbol of investiture (*investituræ in signum*), which was at once deposited in the treasury at Winchester."—*Expug. Hib.*, Rolls series, vol. v., 314.

[5] "Mendacium illud et fabula heretica ita detecta est ut mercenarii et mulierculæ etiam doctissimos super hoc concludunt."—Wetzel to Frederic Barbarossa (1152) Ep. 384. Martene II.

[6] "Constantini privilegio *in jus proprium* beato Petro ejusque successoribus occidentales omnes insulæ donatæ sunt maxime quæ circa Italiæ oram habentur."—Rocchi Pirri, *Liparienses Eccl. Notitia*, vol. viii. Lib. 3.

Assuming that the ownership of Ireland was, as, no doubt he believed, in the Pope's gift, the investiture by the delivery of the symbolical ring was sufficient. Under the feudal system the ownership of land was transferred by the visible transfer of portion of the soil (by "rod and twig,") or some symbolical form of delivery. This constituted a solemn investiture which, while the art of writing was rare, supplied the only evidence of the transaction, and which, though written evidence was afterwards required by the statute, still continued to be the essence of the transfer. This was also the law in Italy at this period, where the feudal system prevailed. Evidence to this effect is furnished by the *Cartula* of the Countess Matilda of Tuscany (1102) which is commonly, but quite erroneously, referred to as a "will." After reciting a donation for the relief of her soul and the souls of her parents, made in the Church of the Holy Cross at the Lateran to the Church of Rome by the hand of Gregory VII., which donation was not forthcoming, it continues: "To the same Church of Rome, by the hands of Barnardus, Cardinal Legate, all my possessions, which I now have, or may hereafter own, on either side of the mountain (Apennines)[7] I give and confirm from this day (15 Kal. Dec. 1102) by this *Cartula*, and, besides, by a small sword, a knotty rod, a glove, a basket of earth, and the branch of a tree,[8] and I have evicted myself, absconded, and gone away from there, and left the same to be held on behalf of the Church. I have lifted the parchment and the inkhorn from off the ground, and delivered the pages to the notary, Guido, and requested him to engross it." The names of witnesses follow, and Guido adds: "I, after delivery, engrossed the *Cartula*, and delivered it (to the Cardinal Legate)." This was at Canossa, in 1102.

There were also many other forms of investiture, as by a ring, a standard, a flag, a sword, etc., as may be seen in Du Cange, under *Investitura*. John of Salisbury expressly states that in the case of Henry II. the investiture was to be

[7] This is an important statement. The *Cartula* dealt with vast possessions, covering, according to some, an area as large as Ireland. The document was, no doubt, destroyed during the anarchy and bloodshed that reigned in Rome with periodical recurrence, during the 11th and 12th centuries. In this way also the scripts relating to Ireland were, we may assume, destroyed. Theiner found in the Papal archives none earlier than the 13th century.

[8] "Insuper per cultellum, festucam nodatam, guantonem, guvassonem terræ atque ramum arboris, et me exinde foras expuli, guarpivi et absentem me feci, et a parte ecclesiæ habendum reliqui."—Cartula Mathildæ. *Monum.* Dom. Pontif. Cennius II., 233.

made by the delivery of a ring, and that the ring was accepted by Henry and deposited in the public treasury.

The letter referred to by John of Salisbury was a letter of investiture, and not, as is maintained by many authors, the Privilegium *Laudabiliter*. The form used with the Normans of Italy commenced thus:—"I Gregory, Pope, invest you, Duke Robert, with the land," etc.[9] With this went the oath of fealty (fidelitatem observabo), which included a promise not to divulge the Pope's secrets to his damage, and to aid and defend the papacy and its temporal possessions to the utmost of his power (pro posse meo) against all men. There was also a promise to pay a yearly rent, which in the case of Robert was fixed at 12 denarii of the money of Pavia, for every yoke of oxen.[10]

Henry's title was thus complete on the delivery and acceptance of the ring and the letter. The latter contained, no doubt, a suitable reference to the Peter's pence which were to be paid when *Dominus* Henry entered into possession. As we shall see, the confirmation by Alexander III. explicitly says so.

What was the motive of Adrian's Donation? The suggestion that Nicholas Breakspear (Adrian IV.) made it because he was an Englishman, may be dismissed at once. Though born in England, he was probably a Northman by descent. He is said "to have fetcht his name from Breaspere, a place in Middlesex." He was selected to be Papal Legate to Norway and Sweden, and he wrote a *Catechism* for them in the vernacular, all which points to a northern parentage, and an early acquaintance with the language. But whether Anglo-Saxon or Dane, he had certainly no love for the Francii, who since the fatal day of Hastings had tyrannized over the conquered with a cruelty and oppression far worse than was known in Ireland until the confiscations of Mary, and the exterminations of Elizabeth.

John of Salisbury and his friends wished, no doubt, to conciliate the friendship of Henry by the Donation; but, as we shall show in the proper place, Henry was not then in a position to undertake a great military expedition like the invasion of Ireland, and there is no reliable evidence that he solicited a license for that purpose from Pope Adrian.

[9] "Ego, Gregorius, Papa, investio te, Roberte dux, de terra," etc.
[10] Jaffé, *Rer Germ.* II. 426.

The motive for the gift must be sought in the *Welt politik* of the Roman curia. It was part of the policy of Hildebrand to raise in the West of Europe a power to balance that of the German Emperors; and this, not from worldly ambition to exalt the temporal greatness of the Church, but to secure its spiritual independence. In furtherance of this policy he allied himself with the Normans of Italy, and took William, Duke of Normandy, under his patronage. He, too, received a gold ring and a banner from the Pope,[11] and claimed to have a mission for reforming the Church. William and Lanfranc represented the invasion of England as designed for the spiritual welfare of the country.[12]

"A land," writes Freeman, "which had not lost its ancient character of the Isle of Saints (England); a land which had so lately boasted of a King like Edward, and an Earl like Leofric; a land which was still illustrated by the virtues of the holy Wulfstan; a land whose earls and bishops, and sons of every degree, pressed year after year to offer at the tombs of the apostles; a land like this was branded as a land which needed to be gathered again into the true fold."[13]

It is related in the Chronicles of St. Alban's that after the Conquest William asked of the monks how it was that it was effected so easily. They made answer that it was owing to the support of the monasteries—that these all declared for him. William, however, left Hildebrand in the lurch. He would give nothing but the old-time contribution of Peter's Pence.

When Hubert, the Pope's Legate, came to England, and demanded that William should take the oath of fealty, William refused, without, however, denying the overlordship claimed by the Pontiff. He affirmed that he had not promised to, and would not, take the oath.[14] On another occasion Hildebrand

[11] Un gonfannon e un ancl
Mult precios e riche et bel.—
Roman de Rose, 11452.

[12] The victors of Civitella, Richard of Aversa and Robert Guiscard, both brave, faithless, unscrupulous, blood-stained condottieri, mighty robbers, unscathed by the many denunciations of the Church, appeared before Nicholas II. at Melfi, where the Pope held a Council in 1069. They received their conquests, with the exception of Benevento, as fiefs of the Holy See. The rights of the despoiled rulers, and of the people were as little regarded as the rights of the German Emperor. The Normans took the oath of vassalage:—"Fidelis ero S. R. ecclesiæ et tibi Dom. meo Nicholae."—Gregorovius—*Hist. Cit. of Rome*, Vol IV. part ii., 121.

[13] Freeman III., 284.

[14] Fidelitatem facere nolui nec volo, quia nec ego promisi, nec antecessores meos antecessoribus tuis id fecisse comperio.—Ep. Lanfranc X. Freeman, IV., 433.

wrote:—"You know, most excellent son, how sincerely I loved you before I reached the Papal dignity, and also how active I proved myself in your business, especially with what zeal I laboured that you might rise to the kingship. For which I incurred grave ill repute (infamiam) from my brothers (cardinals), who murmured at my exerting myself with such predilection for the perpetration of such bloodshed."[15]

According to the Chronicler, if William had lived two years longer he would have conquered Ireland "without weapons."[16] Giraldus has a story that William Rufus, looking from the headland of St. David's across to Ireland, threatened to assemble a great fleet and conquer it. He adds that when this threat reached King Muirchertach he asked simply, "Did he say, 'With the help of God'?" "The conquest of Ireland," says Goldwin Smith, "was simply the sequel of the conquest of England."[17]

In 1219 the King of Man surrendered the island to the Pope and was re-invested with it, to hold as a fief, and the investiture was made with a ring sent for that purpose. It is stated that claims were made by the Pope to be acknowledged as over-lord of Scotland and Ireland.[18] Roderick, the King of Connacht, was, we are assured, offered six wives (in succession, of course) if he would become the Pope's liegeman![19]

It has been alleged that Donncadh, the son of Brian, when, after his deposition, he was an exile in Rome, transferred the lordship of Ireland to the Pope by delivering to him the crown and regalia of the High King. This is, of course, an absurd fiction, but it may have been invented and put in circulation by persons who did not know that the Ard Righ in Erin had only a life estate and could not forgive food rents much less transfer a kingdom. Many such serviceable fables were invented

[15] Ep. Greg. VII. Bosquet, XIV., 648. Freeman, III., 319.

[16] Ond gif he moste ha gyt twa year libtan he haefde Yrlande mid his waerscipe gewunnon, ond wid-utan aelcon waepon.—*Chron. Petit.*, 1087. "And if he might have yet two years lived he had Ireland with his war ships (?) won without any weapon." Stevenson translates "waerscipe" by "valour," Earle by "wary negotiation." We suggest "war ships," *i.e.*, he would only have to sail over and take possession.—Earle, *Saxon Chron.*, pp. 222, 355. *It. Camb.* II., 7 (Rolls S. VI., 109). As to William Rufus, see Giraldus Hiner Kamb II., c. 1. Rolls Series Vol. 6 p. 109.

[17] *Ireland*, p. 45.

[18] Raynaldi. *Annales Eccl.* for 1819, Vol. XIII., p. 297.

[19] "The Pope had offered right over Erin to himself and his seed after him for ever, and six married wives, provided that he desisted from the sin of the women thenceforward. But Ruaidhri did not accept this." *Ann. of Loch Ce*, R. S. I. 315 (A.D. 1233).

to bolster up the forged donation of Constantine. "Accustomed," writes Gregorovius, "to harried proprietors surrendering their free property, to take it back as a fief of the Church, the Church sought to extend these legal relations, to expand these domains into kingdoms, and to render them all tributary to herself. These titles were innumerable and often curious. Gregory VII. claimed feudal supremacy over Bohemia because Alexander II. had conceded the use of a mitre to Duke Wratislaw; over Russia because the fugitive prince of Novgorod had visited the tomb of St. Peter and had offered him his country as a fief; over Hungary because Henry III. had placed the lance and crown of that conquered country as votive offerings in St. Peter's."[20]

We must now turn to the state of affairs in Erin. Maelseachlainn, who died in 1022 A.D., is justly regarded as the last Ard-Righ of Erin. Subsequently, several of the provincial kings were styled Ard-Righ by their partisans, but were syled by the chroniclers ꝛi co ꝼꝼeꝛꞇꞃꞇꞃꞇ (fereshowra), *i.e.*, "kings with gainsaying." The predominant power passed from province to province making the circuit of Erin, and would, no doubt, in the end, as in other countries, and at no distant date, have become fixed in a paramount dynasty if there had been no foreign intervention. Meanwhile, there were the usual intestine wars that precede and accompany the birth-throes of a nation. Notwithstanding all this, Ireland, we affirm, and hope to prove, was, in comparison with the rest of Europe, and particularly with Italy, an oasis of purity, piety, and progress.

After Maelseachlainn there was, according to some authorities, an interregnum, during which the principal management of affairs was vested in two regents—as we may style them—Cuan O'Lochain, the poet, and Corcoran, the cleric. This lasted about four years, and Donncadh MacBrian, the son of Brian Boru, then became overlord of all Erin, except Ulster. He received the hostages of Ossory, Leinster, Meath, and Connacht. He was deposed in 1064, and his nephew, Turlough, became King of Munster. This he effected through the aid of Diarmuid Machnambo, King of Leinster. Diarmuid became the most powerful ruler in the island, but he fell in battle against Conchobar, son of Maelseachlain, in 1072. Turlough O'Brian then regained the position his uncle, Donncadh, had

[20] Gregorovius. *Rome*, vol. IV., Part I., 176. See the authorities there cited.

held, and some claim that he obtained the submission of Ulster. He died in 1086, and was succeeded by his son, Muirchertach.

Three years before, in 1083, Domhnall Ua Lochlainn became King of Aileach. He was of the race of Niall of the Nine Hostages, descended from Domhnall, brother of that Niall who was Ard-Righ, and died in 919. Between these now lay the contest for the overlordship. They fought with varying fortunes. O'Lochlainn was at one time acknowledged king for a few months, and O'Brian made a triumphal circuit of Erin soon after. Finally O'Brian died in 1119 and O'Lochlainn in 1121, leaving the contest undecided. But the forces of the O'Brians were, seemingly, exhausted. After an interval of fifteen years the contest was renewed again, this time between the O'Conors of Connacht and the O'Lochlainns of Aileach. Turlough O'Conor leading the men of Connacht, and aided by the men of Leinster, under Diarmaid MacMurcadha, crushed the Munster men at Moin Mor, near Emly, in Tipperary. But being attacked in the same year by Muirchertach Ua Lochlainn, he was forced to give him hostages. He renewed the struggle, however, the following year, and maintained it with great tenacity until his death, in 1056, when he was succeeded by his son, Ruadhri, or Roderick. The latter was not then in a position to establish his claim to the shadowy overlordship. Muirchertach Ua Lochlainn stood forth as a rival claimant, and both parties prepared to gather around them, by persuasion or force, the minor chieftains and their fighting men. Omitting minor operations O'Conor sailed down the Shannon and made a partition of Munster between O'Brian and Macarthy. He established a firm alliance with Tighernan O'Ruairc, who ruled over Cavan, Leitrim, and Longford. On his side O'Lochlainn was equally active. Immediately after the death of Turlough he invaded Ulidia and took away choice hostages. He then marched south and took the hostages of Leinster from Diarmaid Mac Murcadha in return for giving him the whole province. Diarmaid thenceforth stood firmly by him in his contest with O'Conor. O'Lochlainn next marched with the men of Oirghiall into Ossory, and received the submission of the chieftains there. The following year he attended the great ceremony at the consecration of Mellifont, when he gave eight score cows and sixty ounces of gold to the Lord and to

the clergy. Magraidin, the continuator of Tigernach, states that Tighernan Ua Ruairc and Dearbforgaill were both present on that occasion, when the latter gave, as already stated, sixty ounces of gold and other valuable presents. The *Annals of Ulster* state that Tighernan Ua Ruairc was also present, and it may, we think, be fairly assumed that he and Dearbforgaill were not then living apart, though the contrary is often stated. In 1159 O'Lochlainn marched into Meath, and put Donncadh Ua Maelseachlainn in full kingship of it from the Shannon to the sea. After this O'Conor mustered all his forces and advanced to attack him. He was joined by strong battalions from Munster. Tighernan Ua Ruairc brought the O'Ruaircs, O'Reillys, and O'Farrels from Leitrim, Cavan, and Longford. O'Conor marched to Ardee, the historic fighting ground of Cuchulainn. There he was met by Ua Lochlainn at the head of the Cinel Eogain, the Cinel Conaill, the Oirghialla, and the Ulidians. A battle rout was inflicted on O'Conor. The six battalions of Connacht and Ua Ruairc were overthrown, and the two battalions from Munster "were dreadfully slaughtered." O'Lochlainn then led his victorious army—the Cinel Eogain, the Cinel Conaill, the Ulidians, and the Oirghialla—into Connacht, but had to return "without peace and without hostages." O'Conor was, however, not crushed. He continued the struggle with stubborn pertinacity. The next year, 1160. he made a hosting into Teffia, sailed down the Shannon, and took hostages from the Dal Cais. Then he went to meet O'Lochlainn at Eas Ruaidh with a view to making peace; but they could not come to an agreement. In 1161 O'Conor, with Tighernan Ua Ruairc, invaded Meath, and took hostages from the Ui Faclain and the Ui Failghe, but was himself obliged to give hostages to O'Lochlainn. In 1165 he made a hosting into Desmond, and took hostages from MacCarthy. At this time, notwithstanding his having given hostages to O'Lochlainn, he seems to have had a nominal suzerainty over Desmond, Thomond, Meath, and Breffni. The following year brought the downfall and death of his rival. O'Lochlainn had treacherously blinded Eocaid, the son of Donnsluibhe, King of Ulidia, against the guarantee of Ua Cearbhail, the King of Oirghialla, and "after dishonouring the co-arb of Patrick and the staff of Jesus, and the co-arb of Columba, and the Gospel of St. Martin and many clergy, besides Ua Cearbhail and the Oirghialla."

The Ulidians rose against him, and O'Conor led the Connacht men and Ua Ruairc's men into Tyrone. A battle was fought at Leiter Luinn, near Newtown Hamilton, in Armagh, and O'Lochlainn was slain. O'Conor then marched to Ath Cliath with Ua Ruairc and Maelseachlainn and their forces. There "he was inaugurated king as honourably as any king of the Gael was ever inaugurated, and he presented their 'retainers' to the foreigners, in many cows, for he levied four thousand cows on the men of Erin for them."

O'Conor then received the submission and hostages of the Oirghialla and other chieftains, and gave them "retainers." Next he marched against Diarmaid MacMurchada, who advanced against him and gave him battle, but was defeated.

It was on this occasion, in our judgment, that Diarmuid fled from the kingdom, was deposed, and his kinsman, Murchadh, the son of Murchada, set up by O'Conor in his stead.[21] There is an entry in the *Book of Leinster*—evidently of contemporary date—which refers to this event. It runs as follows:—"Wirra, wirra (ṁuṙe) 'tis a great deed that has been done this day, the Kalends of August, viz., Diarmuid, the son of Donncadh MacMurchada, King of Leinster and of the foreigners, to have been banished over the sea (eastwards) by the men of Erin. Oh, Holy Trinity! uch! uch! What shall I do?" This entry was, we suggest, made by, or at the dictation of, Aedh MacCrimthainn. He had been tutor of Diarmaid, and was now *Ferleighinn* at Ferns. It was by him, we think, or under his direction, that the *Book of Leinster* was compiled, and not, as O'Curry thought, by Finn, Bishop of Kildare, who died in 1160 A.D. There is an interesting letter from the latter copied into the *Book of Leinster*. It runs:—"Life and health from Finn, Bishop, (*i.e.* of Kildare) to Aedh MacCrimthainn, *Ferleighinn* of the chief king of Leth Mogha, and co-arb of Colum MacCrimthainn, and chief historian of Leinster in wisdom, and knowledge, and cultivation of books, and science, and learning. And let the conclusion of this history be written for me by thee, O acute Aedh, thou possessor of the sparkling intellect. . . . Let Mac Lonain's book of poems be given

[21] The accounts in our Annals are confused by the introduction of a separate invasion *en revanche* by O'Ruairc. We follow Magraidin's account up to the battle (continuation of Tigernach, *Rev. Celt.*, 18 p. 168). The entry in the *Book of Leinster*, to be presently mentioned, says he was banished, not by Ua Ruairc but by the *men of Erin*, *i.e.*, O'Conor's army.

to me that we may find out the sense of the poems that are in it."[22]

The grief of Aedh, if we are right in our surmise, was not destined to be of long duration. Glad tidings were coming to him from over sea. Diarmaid fled to the Court of Henry II., who was then in Acquitaine. He was cordially received, and obtained from the King Letters Patent authorising his subjects in every part of his dominions to aid him in recovering his kingdom. He further obtained—what was, perhaps, scarcely of less importance, what is commonly known as the Bull *Laudabiliter*. The document was, in our judgment, composed or issued at this time. We shall state in full detail our view respecting it in our next chapter. Here let us give, with our translation, the text from the *Book of Leinster*, hitherto unpublished, and, with one exception,[23] unnoticed in the voluminous works and treatises on this subject.[24]

The prefatory lines are, we suggest, from Aedh MacCrimthainn, who probably survived his pupil. The date of his death is not known.

[LAUDABILITER.]

Ah, men of the faith of the world how beautiful!
When over the cold sea in ships Zephyrus wafts glad tidings (literally presents).

[A Bull granted to the King of the English on the collation (*i.e.* grant) of Hibernia, *in which nothing is taken away from the rights of the Irish, as appears by the words of the text.*]

Adrian, bishop, servant of the servants of God, to our well-beloved son in Christ, the illustrious King of the English, health and apostolical benediction. Laudably and profitably enough does your magnificence think of winning a glorious name on earth and heaping up the reward of eternal happiness in heaven while you purpose like a prince (truly) Catholic to extend the bounds of the Church, to proclaim to a rude and untaught people the truth of the Christian faith, and to root out nurseries of vice from the field of the Lord, and for doing this with greater propriety you ask the advice and support of the Holy See. In which matter we are confident your progress will be more successful, with God's help, in proportion as you proceed with loftier purpose and

[22] LL. Facsimile, lower margin, p. 228. Colum MacCrimthainn was the founder of the Abbey of Tir-da-glas in Tipperary. The entry is written under the story of Tadg, the son of Cian, which is, perhaps, the story referred to. See Todd, *War of the Gael*, X.

[23] Boichorst refers to the LL. casually in a note.

[24] As regards the pagination of the *Book of Leinster* it is to be noted that the original book ends on page 354. From 355 to 376 inclusive there is a blank. From 377 to the last page, 411, is modern—about 300 years old. Facsimile LL. Introduction.

greater discretion, because those (projects) usually have a happy end and issue which have their beginning in ardour for the faith and love of religion. Truly there is no doubt, as you freely (voluntas tua) recognize, that Hibernia and all islands on which Christ, the Sun of Justice, has shone, which have received the teachings of the Christian faith, belong to the "*jus*" of the blessed apostle Peter and the Holy Roman Church. Hence we have the greater pleasure in planting in them a nursery of the faith and seed pleasing to God, as conscience tells us, and we see that this is strictly demanded of us. Since you intimate to us, well-beloved son in Christ, that you wish to enter the island of Hibernia to subject that people to laws and root out the nurseries of vice from it, and are willing to pay from each house one *denarius* annually as cess to blessed Peter, and to preserve the rights of the Church of that land unimpaired and inviolate, so we, seconding your pious and laudable desire with the favour it deserves, and according to your request a benignant assent, are pleased and willing that to extend the bounds of the Church and for preventing the re-growth of vice (recursu) and for amending morals and sowing the seeds of virtue and for the advancement of the Christian religion, you shall enter that island and do therein what tends to the honour of God and the salvation of the people. And let the people of that land receive you honourably and respect you as *dominus*—that is, the rights of the Church remaining unimpaired and inviolate and saving to blessed Peter and to the Holy Roman Church from each house one *denarius* annually as cess. If, therefore, you shall bring to completion effectively what you have planned in your mind, strive to discipline that nation in good morals, and act as well by yourself as by those whom you have ascertained to be by their faith, their words, and their manner of life, fit for the task, that the Church may be adorned there, that the religion and faith of Christ may be planted and grow, and that what appertains to the honour of God and the salvation of souls may be so ordered by you that you may merit to obtain from God the abundance of the eternal reward and succeed in winning a glorious name on earth and in heaven. *Vale.*[25]

Text from the Book of Leinster.

A ɒuine na cɹeic ɒon cɹaoɔoi ɔio alainn.

Aequore cum gelido Zepherus fert. (A Fexennia)[26] (*recte*) xennia kymbis.

[Bulla concessa regi anglorum super collationem Hyberniæ in qua nichil derogetur juri Hybernicorum sicut in serie verborum patet.]

Adrianus episcopus servus servorum Dei carissimo in Christo filio, illustri regi Anglorum *Henrico* salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. Laudabiliter et satis fructuose de glorioso nomine propagando in terris et æternæ felicitatis præmio cumulando in cælis tua magnificentia cogitat, dum ad dilatandos ecclesiæ terminos et ad declarandam indoctis et rudibus populis Christianæ fidei veritatem et vitiorum plantaria de

[25] The conclusion should be, we think :—"That you may merit to obtain an abundance of the eternal reward in heaven, and succeed in winning a glorious name on earth." The words have been transposed.

[26] "A Fexennia" should, we suggest, be "Xennia." The proper word is "Xenia," but the writer doubles the "n" to get his dactyl in the 5th place.

agro Dominico exstirpanda, sicut Catholicus princeps, intendis, et ad id conuenientius exsequendum consilium apostolicum exigis et favorem. In quo facto quanto altiori consilio et majori discretione procedis tanto in eo feliciorem progressum te, præstante Domino, confidimus (habiturum) eo quod ad bonum exitum et finem soleant pertingere quae de ardore fidei et religionis amore principium acceperunt. Sane Hiberniam et omnes insulas quibus sol justitiæ Christus illuxit quæ documenta fidei perceperunt ad jus beati Petri apostoli et sacrosanctæ Romanæ ecclesiæ, quod tua etiam *voluntus* recognoscit, non est dubium pertinere. Unde (tanto) in eis libentius plantationem fidelem et germen gratum Deo inserimus (quanto) id a nobis interno examine districtius prospiscimus exigendum. Significasti nobis siquidem, fili in Christo carissime, te Hiberniæ insulam, ad subdendum populum illum legibus et inde vitiorum plantaria exstirpanda velle intrare et de singulis domibus annuam beato Petro unum denarium solvere pensionem, et jura ecclesiæ illius terræ illabata et integra conservare. Nos itaque pium et laudabile desiderium tuum favore congruo prosequentes, et petitioni tuæ benigne impendentes assensum, gratum et acceptum habemus ut pro dilatandis ecclesiæ terminis, pro vitiorum restringendo *recursu*, pro corrigendis moribus et virtutibus inserendis pro Christianæ religionis augmento, insulam illam ingrediaris et quæ ad honorem Dei et salutem terræ illius spectaverint exequaris, et illius terræ populus honorifice te recipiat et sicut dominum veneretur, jure nimirum ecclesiarum illibato et integro permanente, et salva beato Petro apostolo et sacrosanctæ Romanæ ecclesiæ de singulis domibus unum denarium annua pensione. Si ergo quod animo concepisti effectu duxeris persequente complendum, studeas gentem illam bonis moribus informare et agas tam per te quam per illos quos ad hoc fide verbo et vita idoneos esse perspexeris ut decoretur ibi ecclesia, plantetur et crescat fidei Christianæ religio, et quæ ad honorem Dei et salutem pertinent animarum taliter ordinentur ut a Deo sempiternæ mercedis cumulum consequi mereris, et in terris gloriosum nomen *valeas et in cœlis* obtinere. Vale.[27]

[27] We have italicised the principal variants in this text :—

Henrico is absent in other texts.

Voluntas.—Here and in Matthew Paris, Rolls series, I., p. 304 only. In Baronius and elsewhere, *nobilitas*. We make no doubt *voluntas* is archetypal ; no scribe would change *nobilitas* into *voluntas*. We are unable to say whether the codex of Matthew Paris in the Vatican, from which Baronius probably got his version, has *voluntas*.

Recursu is elsewhere *decursu*.

In cœlis, elsewhere *in sæculum*, or *in sæculis*. Baronius has *valeas in sæculis*. *In cœlis* is, we think, the true text.

The context indicates, we suggest, that the final clause should run :—" Ut a Deo sempiternæ mercedis cumulum consequi mereris in cœlis et gloriosum nomen valeas in terris obtinere. Vale."

Book of Leinster, Facsimile, p. 342, Giraldus, Rolls series, I,, 65, III. 195, Rad. de Diceto, R.S., I. 300. Baronius, vol. 19, p. 128, A.D. 1150., this is the text of Migne, vol. 188, p. 1441, etc.

CHAPTER XXVII.

THE CYMRO-FRANKISH ADVENTURERS.[1]

BEFORE considering what we shall call for brevity, the Papal Documents, whether genuine or spurious, relating to the alleged Donation of Ireland to Henry II, it is necessary to say a few words about Diarmaid himself.

Diarmaid at the time of his banishment had been forty years on the throne. The date of his birth is uncertain, our texts agree that he was the son of Donnchadh Mac Murcadha, and 20th in descent from Enna Ceinselach who was king of Leinster in the 4th century. Donncadh was slain in 1115,[2] and was succeeded by Enna who reigned eight years (1117-1125). Diarmaid who, according to our view, was too young to reign when his father died, mounted the throne on the death of Enna in 1126. We would place his birth about the year 1100.[3] Till his flight he had shown himself an active, ambitious, and withal a politic ruler. Shortly after his accession when he was firmly seated on the throne of Leinster he claimed the over-lordship of Leath Mogha, that is, of the whole South of Ireland. He invaded Ossory in 1134,

[1] The followers of William the Conqueror, commonly called Normans, called themselves Francii long after their settlement in England. The adventurers to Ireland were from Wales, *i.e.*, Cymri, or Francii. They spoke either Cymric or French, or in some cases Latin. Henry II, though brought up in England for four years could'nt speak English.

[2] *F. M.* 1115. Donncadh Ua Maelnambo, the father of Diarmaid, and the great grandson of Maelnambo, was slain in a battle in which Domhnall O'Brien and the foreigners of Dublin were victorious.

[3] O'Donovan gives his genealogy (*F. M.* 1052 A.D.) and says he was sixty-two *in* 1153, which would place his birth at 1090. We find it difficult to accept this view, as if he was twenty-five at his father's death we should expect him to have succeeded immediately; and his vigour and activity up to his death in 1171 would be very exceptional in a man of eighty. There *is* an entry in the *Book of Leinster*, on the other hand, which states that he reigned forty-six years and died in the sixty-first (LXI) year of his age. This we cannot accept, as it would make him out to be only fifteen (61—46) at the time of his accession. The entry should probably be LXXI and not LXI. Mistakes often occur in the Roman numerals. See *F. M.* 1052, 1115 and 1153. Todd, *War of the Gael* xi. and *LL* p. 39 g.

and though repulsed at first succeeded afterwards in defeating the men of Ossory and their allies, the northmen of Waterford, and laid siege to the latter town.[4] In 1149 he invaded Meath and in alliance with the Northmen of Dublin plundered Duleek. He next made alliance with O'Conor, and helped him, as we have seen, to win the battle of Moin Mor over the men of Munster, and to invade O'Ruairc's territory.

Afterwards when MacLochlainn became predominant he attached his fortunes to him and remained true to him till he fell at Leitér Luin in 1166.

Diarmaid also took precautions to secure the support of the Church. He married Mor, the sister of Saint Laurence O'Toole, and was a munificent benefactor of religion. Saint Laurence, after he became Archbishop of Dublin, replaced the Secular Canons, at Christ Church by Canons regular of the Augustinian Order of the reform of Aroasia in Artois, and joined the Order himself in 1140. Diarmaid founded and endowed a Convent for Nuns of the Aroasian Order at St. Mary de Hogges near the site of St. Andrew's Church in the city of Dublin, and two dependent cells at Kilcleshin in Kilkenny near Waterford, and at Aghade in Carlow—in 1151,[5] In the same year he founded the Abbey of Baltinglass for Cistercian Monks, and in 1161 an Abbey for Austin Canons at Ferns. About 1160 he confirmed a donation of lands, etc., at Duisk in Kilkenny to Felix, Abbot of Ossory, for the construction of a monastery in honour of St. Benedict. St. Laurence was one of the witnesses to the charter.[6]

Diarmaid also founded a Convent for Canons on the spot where Trinity College now stands, under the title of the Church, Priory, and Canons of All-Hallows, and endowed it with an extensive estate at Baldoyle. The charter of endowment which is still extant is made to his "spiritual father

[4] *F. M.* 1132. The Siege of Waterford by Diarmaid Mac Murchadha king of Leinster and Conchobar O'Brien, king of the Dal-Cais, and the foreigners of Ath-Cliath and L. Carmen who had 200 ships on the sea.

[5] O'Curry prepared a pedigree of St. Laurence for O'Hanlon's *Life of the Saint*, it will be found at page 12. He states that he compared the books of *Ballymote*, *Lecan*, and *Mac Firbis* with the *Book of Leinster* and says: "Mor the daughter of Muirchertach ua Tuathail (father of St. Laurence) was the wife of Diarmaid Mac Murchadha, king of Leinster and of the Danes." St. Laurence's nephew was at this time (1167) Abbot of the powerful Abbey of Glendalough.

[6] See facsimile MS. Gilbert LXII., where a copy of this charter is given.

and Confessor, Eden, Bishop of Louth,"[7] as a trustee, and St. Laurence is one of the witnesses.

Against these solid facts we find a considerable quantity of adverse and most frequently rhetorical criticism dating from Giraldus onward. Giraldus' description of Diarmaid is worth quoting textually: "In stature Diarmaid was tall and his frame was very large. Among his own people he was bold and combative. His voice was hoarse from the frequent and prolonged battle-shouts. He had rather be feared than loved by all. He pulled down the mighty and lifted up the weak. Odious to his own he was hated by the stranger. Every man's hand was against him and his hand against every man. In his youth at the beginning of his reign he was an oppressor of the nobility, and raged against the magnates of his own country with a great and intolerable tyranny." [8]

There are, we think, only two acts answering this description recorded of Diarmaid in our annals. One is the blinding of Niall ua Mordha of Leix, whom Diarmaid released from fetters after depriving him of his sight. This abominable practice of blinding had come west from the east, and was common in England from the time of the Conquest, as well as in Ireland.

A second entry in our annals states that Diarmaid "acted treacherously towards the chieftains of Leinster, viz., Domhnall Lord of Ui Faelain, and ua Tuathail, both of whom he killed, and towards the Lord of Feara Cualann who was blinded by him. This deed caused great weakness in Leinster, for seventeen of the nobility of Leinster and many others with them were killed." [9]

Diarmaid is further charged with having been accessory to the abduction of an Abbess, [10] a charge which is probably

[7] The charter is given in the *Registrum Priorat. Omn. SS.* Ed. R. Butler p. 50

[8] "Dermod Mac Murchad expelled by Roderick O'Conor for enormous crimes of a public and private nature."—O'Conor of Belnagare *Dissertations* 262, "A beastly prince" *Lanigan* IV., 184-191. "His whole life was a record of violence and villainy, he was cruel, tyrannical and treacherous, and was hated in his own day as much as his memory has been hated ever since."—Joyce, *Short History*, p. 245.

[9] The Entry *F. M.* 1141 A.D. appears to point to a revolt of some sort which Diarmaid put down with probably undue severity. The rebels were not his tribesmen.

[10] 1135. The Abbess of Kildare was forced and taken out of her cloister by Diarmaid Mac Murchadha king of Leinster, and compelled to marry one of the said Diarmaid's people, at whose taking he killed 107 of the townsmen. —Murphy, *Ann. Clon.*, p. 193.

as ill-founded as that of his elopement with Dearbforgaill, with which we have already dealt. It is not mentioned by the Four Masters.

These are the only acts of cruelty recorded against Diarmaid during a reign of 40 years. His record will, we think, bear favourable comparison with those of contemporary monarchs at home and abroad.

Assuming the tale told in the *Metalogicus* to be true, and that the facts stated were known to some of the ecclesiastics or monks in touch with Diarmaid, the course he took after his flight was such as might have been reasonably expected. When an under-lord or chieftain was unjustly attacked he appealed for succour or protection in the last resort to the High King or over-lord. But if the true over-lord of all was the Pope, and Henry was his vice-gerent (and there can be no doubt that this was the orthodox teaching, at the time, of the regular, if not of the secular, clergy in the South of Ireland), if unable to stand alone against O'Conor and his allies, and if the Northern Ui Neill were not in a position to help him, to whom could Diarmaid appeal for succour and redress but to Henry, after his expulsion and flight? Diarmaid, therefore, determined to turn for help to Henry Plantagenet. He went first to Bristol, where he found shelter for a time in the Priory of St. Augustin. Thence he proceeded to Normandy, and finally to Acquitaine, where he found Henry. He was cordially received, but Henry was not then in a position to restore him to his kingdom by force of arms. After receiving his bond of allegiance and oath of fealty the king gave him an open letter directed to all his subjects in every part of his dominions stating: "If anyone is willing to aid in restoring Diarmaid our liegeman, be it known to him that he will have our licence and our favour.[11] Assuming again that the story in the *Metalogicus* is true, and that Henry was aware that the Pope claimed the over-lordship of Ireland, we think it unlikely that he would have given this licence without the authority of the reigning Pope, Alexander III. Accepting the homage of one of the Pope's under-lords and authorising his own subjects to go in arms to help him with-

[11] Unde et quisquis ei (*i.e.*, Dermetio) de amplitudinis nostræ finibus tanquam homini et fideli nostro restitutionis auxilium impendere voluerit se nostram ad hoc tam gratiam noverit quam licentiam obtinere.—*Expug. Hib. II.*

out the Pope's licence would be a clear invasion of Papal rights. We are, therefore, prepared to find it stated that Alexander did confirm Pope Adrian's donation. The authenticity of the Bull is, of course, questioned, but we think that the probabilites are strongly in favour of its being genuine. Henry would never have led an army into Ireland without a confirmation of Adrian's Donation, assuming it to be genuine.

The dates at this point cannot be exactly fixed. The negotiations which probably included a reference to Rome, as we have suggested, must have occupied a considerable time. Diarmaid was banished in 1166, he did not return to Bristol until 1168. The Pope's open letter of confirmation ran thus :—

In as much as the *privilegia* which have been on reasonable grounds granted by our predecessors deserve to be confirmed and permanently sanctioned, We treading in the foot-steps of the venerable Pope Adrian, and hoping for the fruit of what you desire, (hereby) ratify and confirm his grant made to you of the lordship of the Kingdom of Ireland, saving to the Blessed Peter and the Holy Roman Church, as in England so in Ireland, an annual cess of one denarius from each house, to the end that the barbarous nation which is qualified with the christian name, by your diligence may be clothed with loveliness of manners; and the Church of this land, hitherto in disorder, be reduced to order, and that people may, in future, not only be called, but live like, professing Christians. [12]

The coming of Henry may be properly said to have begun at this point. The proceedings of the adventurers who availed themselves of his licence, and were his precursors, will be best understood when read in connection with subsequent events. We shall, therefore, reserve details on this head for the second volume of this history, and confine ourselves here to stating briefly the events that occurred up to the death of Diarmaid.

On leaving Acquitaine Diarmaid returned to Bristol where he read the king's letter publicly, and began his quest for adventurers. After some time, probably in the summer of 1168, he fell in with a ruined baron whose estate had been confiscated by Henry—Richard De Clare, Earl of Pembroke

[12] In the *De Instr Princ.* is found what appears to be an interpolation or subsequent addition by Giraldus himself, stating that some asserted, and some denied, that this letter was ever obtained.—Giraldus *Rolls Series*, V., 318.

and Strigul, commonly known as Strongbow.[13] Diarmaid came to terms with him, promising him his eldest daughter in marriage and the succession to his kingdom, and Strongbow, on his side, promised to come to Diarmaid's aid with a military force in the following spring. So far as the kingdom was concerned, Diarmaid's promise was illusory; the succession to it was not Diarmaid's to bestow; he obtained it himself by election, not by primogeniture, and the clansmen would surely assert their undoubted rights when the throne became vacant. Moreover, there were other daughters, and there was male issue, legitimate and illegitimate. Conor, the legitimate son, was delivered as a hostage to the king of Connacht in 1169, and subsequently put to death by him, and Domhnall Caevanagh, Mac Murchada, an illegitimate son, is described by the Four Masters as "king of Leinster in in 1175, when he was treacherously slain."[14] Nor is it quite clear that Eva was legitimate. If so her younger sister was married before her to O'Brien, which would be against the invariable usage of the Gael.

Strongbow, however, was not in any hurry to fulfil his engagement. Probably he could not induce his friends and retainers to muster courage for the adventure, He also wished to obtain the special licence of Henry whom he petitioned to restore to him the lands he had forfeited or to allow him to seek his fortune in Ireland. Henry gave him the desired permission. Giraldus tells us it was ironical rather than serious.[15]

Strongbow did not sail from Milford Haven for Waterford until August 23rd, 1170. In the meantime Diarmaid had secured the help of other adventurers. On leaving Bristol, he journeyed through South Wales on his way to St. David's whence he intended to sail to Wexford. At this time Rhys ap Griffith. the son of Griffith ap Rhys, and the grandson of Rhys ap Tudor, was the prince of a considerable territory in South Wales under Henry II with whose Justiciary Richard De Lacy, he had some time before arranged terms of peace. His aunt Nesta, the daughter of Rhys ap Tudor,

[13] The castle of Strigul was at or near Chepstow on the Wye. Richard's father had been created Earl of Pembroke by Stephen in 1138, and his grandfather, it is said, had received the grant of Cardigan from Henry I., which means that he had been allowed to sieze it and dispossess Cadogan, the Cymric chieftain.

[14] *F. M.* 1175, and O'Donovan.

[15] Accepta igitur quasi licentia ironica magis quam vera *Expug. Hib* I., c. 13.

had been the mistress of Henry I; from this connection came the Fitzhenrys. Afterwards she became the wife of Gerald of Windsor, Castellan of Pembroke; from this union came the Fitzgeralds—three sons and a daughter Angharad, who was married to William de Barri, father of Giraldus the historian. David the youngest son was then Bishop of St. David's. Thirdly Nesta was married to Stephen, Castellan of Abertivy in Cardigan to whom she bore Robert Fitzstephen.[16]

When Diarmaid arrived at St. David's he was treated with great kindness by the Bishop and by Gryffith ap Rhys. It so chanced that at this time Robert Fitzstephen who had been kept in prison for three years by his cousin, Gryffith ap Rhys, had been released on condition that he would join Gryffith in taking up arms against Henry II. It was now arranged through the Bishop of St. David's and Maurice Fitzgerald, his brother, with the consent of Gryffith, that Robert Fitzstephen, instead of taking up arms against Henry II. should join his brother Maurice in fighting to restore Diarmaid; that they should cross with their forces in the ensuing spring and that Diarmaid should grant them the town of Wexford and two cantreds of land to hold in fee. The town and land were, we would suggest, then in the possession of the Northmen. Meantime Diarmaid sailed for home, and entering the monastery at Ferns was hospitably received by the Austin canons, and spent the winter there in concealment. When the spring came round Fitzstephen mustered 30 men-at-arms of his own kindred and retainers, 60 men in armour, and about 300 archers and foot soldiers—the flower of the youth of Wales. These he embarked in three ships with which he landed at Bannow in Wexford about the 1st May, 1169. Hervey de Mountmaurice, an uncle of Strongbow, joined them as an *explorator*, to observe and report to him the state of affairs in Ireland. Maurice de Prendergast also arrived the following spring from South Wales with 10 men-at-arms and a body of archers, in two ships. By this time the whole auxiliary forces would probably have reached about 600; they were joined by Diarmaid with 500 men, and the combined forces attacked Wexford. The first

[16] We abstain from considering here, as unimportant for our purpose, whether Nesta was married to Fitzstephen, or whether it was before or after her marriage with Gerald of Windsor she became mistress of Henry II. We present merely a popular view and have not investigated the matter.

assault was repulsed, but on the following day two Bishops who were in the town made peace, and the townsmen submitted to Diarmaid their rightful sovereign and gave him hostages for their fealty. Large numbers now joined him, bringing the united forces up to about 3,000. These forces then marched into Ossory. Ossory was part of the territory formerly under Diarmaid's over-lordship, and Donnchad, the chieftain, had, 11 years before, captured and blinded his eldest son Enna, Rigdamna of Leinster. The men of Ossory, Giraldus tells us, made a stout resistance, availing themselves of the shelter of woods and morasses. But pursuing the enemy into the open they were charged and cut to pieces by the cavalry. 200 heads were cut off and laid at Diarmaid's feet, "among them was the head of one he mortally hated, and taking it by the ears and hair he tore the nostrils and lips with his teeth." We mention this absurd story as it is often quoted by English writers, who forget that the credulous author of the story "saw with his own eyes" embryo barnacle geese growing like limpets on the rocks along the Irish Coast. The story told by Giraldus is not confirmed by any other author.

The king of Ossory sued for peace and gave hostages to Diarmaid. When Ruadhri O'Conor was apprised of these proceedings, he mustered his forces and invaded Leinster. Fitzstephen and the Leinster men did not venture to meet him in the open, but retreated to a strong defensible position near Ferns. Peace was, however, made without fighting, and on these conditions: Leinster was to be left to Diarmaid; Ruadhri was to be acknowledged as Ard-righ; Diarmaid was to give his son Conor as hostage to Ruadhri, who promised that should peace be firmly established, he would, in the course of time, give his daughter in marriage to the young prince. These conditions were publicly proclaimed and sworn to. There was also a secret agreement that Diarmaid should not bring in any more foreigners, and should send away those he had already called in as soon as he had reduced Leinster to a state of order. We make no doubt that Diarmaid honestly intended to carry out these arrangements. It was clearly his interest to do so if he could, as the life of his son was at stake. But history teaches us, by many examples, that allies or mercenaries like those with Diarmaid

begin by giving help and advice and end by issuing peremptory orders. The Cymro-Frankish adventurers had come to stay, and on the arrival of additional contingents under Maurice Fitzgerald (10 men-at-arms, 30 mounted archers, 100 bowmen on foot, in two ships) in 1169, and under Strongbow in 1170,[17] Diarmaid became a puppet in their hands. and they determined to carve out kingdoms for themselves in the fairest regions of Erin. Giraldus says, that Diarmaid wrote to Strongbow in a poetical strain urging him to come quickly. We may be certain that it was not Diarmaid's letters, if such were ever sent, which we question, but the reports of Hervey de Mountmaurice and the entreaties of the other leaders that influenced his decision. He landed near Waterford on the 22nd August, 1170. The city was taken with great slaughter, but the captives were spared through the intervention of Diarmaid, The marriage of Strongbow and Eva was then celebrated, according to the agreement.

Before sailing for Ireland Strongbow had sent forward Raymond le Gros, son of William Fitzgerald, who was an elder brother of Maurice Fitzgerald. Raymond le Gros sailed with 10 men-at-arms and 70 archers, and landed at Dundonnell, a rocky promontory about 8 miles from Waterford. There he threw up a slight fortification made of sods and the boughs of trees. The citizens, mostly Northmen, promptly advanced from the city to attack him, but though superior in numbers they were repulsed with great loss. Seventy were taken prisoners. "Then the victors abused their great good fortune by detestable counsels and inhuman cruelty." This was, Giraldus is careful to mention, at the instigation of Hervey de Mountmaurice and against the vehement protest of his cousin Raymond le Gros. "Of two things," urged Hervey de Mountmaurice, "we must choose one, we must either resolutely accomplish what we have undertaken, and stifling all emotions of pity utterly subjugate

[17]

Robert Fitzstephen	3 ships.	390 men.
Maurice de Prendergast	2 „	200 (?) „
Maurice Fitzgerald	2 „	140 „
Raymond le Gros	1 „	70 „
Strongbow	?	1,200 „
	Total	2,000

this rebellious nation, by the strong hand, or indulging in deeds of mercy, as Raymond proposes, sail homeward." He adds "Hervey's opinion was approved by his comrades and the wretched captives had their limbs broken and were cast headlong into the sea." [18]

Strongbow, on leaving Waterford, marched to Dublin. Hasculf was the king of the Norse there. The Archbishop, Saint Laurence O'Toole, obtained a truce that terms of peace might be settled. "Notwithstanding this, Raymond on one side of the city and Milo de Cogan on the other rushed to the walls with bands of youths, and making a resolute assault got possession of the place with great slaughter of the citizens." Hasculf and the rest escaped to their ships, and sailed to the northern islands. After spending a few days in Dublin Strongbow invaded Meath and laid waste the whole territory with fire and sword. O'Conor then put Diarmaid's son to death. So far Giraldus. The entry in the Four Masters runs:—

1170, A.D., an army was laid by Mac Murchadha, with his men-at-arms (muinmeadaib) into Meath and Breffni, and they plundered Clonard, Kells, Tailltin, Dowth, Slane, Dulane, Kilskeery and Castle Kieran, and they afterwards made a predatory incursion into Tir Briuin, and carried off many persons and cows to their camp. The hostages of Diarmaid were put to death by Ruadhri O'Conor at Athlone, namely Conchobar the son of Diarmaid, the Rigdamna of Leinster, and his grandson, *i.e.*, the son of Domhnall Caemhanach, and the son of his foster-brother, *i.e.*, O'Caellaighe. 1171 A.D. Diarmaid Mac Murchadha, king of Leinster, by whom a trembling sod was made of all Ireland, after bringing over the Saxons, after having done extensive injury to the Gael, after plundering and burning many churches as Kells, Clonard, etc., died at Ferns before the end of a year, after this plundering, by an insufferable and unknown disease, through the miracles of God, Colomba, and Finnan, whose churches he had profaned some time before, without will, without Penance, without the Body of Christ as his evil deeds deserved.

If this be true, Diarmaid was very badly treated by the Church to which he had been a munificent friend, but it is not true. The *Book of Leinster*, which is a better authority, states that, he died at Ferns "after the victory of Unction and Penance." This, we have no doubt, is the truth. We do not present Diarmaid to our readers as a hero; but historical

[18] *Expug. Hib.* I., C. XIII.

justice, weighing the facts dispassionately, demands that he should not be made a scapegoat.[19]

We must now return to the illaudable *Laudabiliter*. An examination of this script reveals at once to the trained eye the practised hand of one who had completely mastered the technicalities of the *suppressio veri*, and come perilously near the *assertio falsi*. The object he had in view was to make it appear to the Irish that there was no derogation from their rights. This he accomplished by using dominant words that lend themselves to two interpretations; the words *jus* and *Dominus*. The statement in the text that all islands which have received the teachings of the Christian religion belong to the *jus* of the Blessed Peter may mean (*a*) belong to the *jus ecclesiasticum* or *spirituale*, *i.e.*, to the ecclesiastical or spiritual jurisdiction of the Church of Rome; or (*b*) belong to the *jus proprium* or *temporale*, *i.e.*, to the proprietary or temporal jurisdiction of the Church. We have had the curiosity to look into some modern translations and we find that Cardinal Moran amongst others translates the passage "All the islands which have received the knowledge of the christian faith are subject to the authority of St. Peter and of the Most Holy Roman Church" *i.e.*, to the ecclesiastical jurisdiction. On the other hand, Rev. William Morris and many others, translate the passage "All islands which have received the traditions of the Christian church belong to Saint Peter and the most Holy Roman Church" *i.e.*, the proprietary jurisdiction.[20] The latter is the sense in which it has been understood in subsequent official documents.

The word *dominus* may mean either (*a*) title of respect, or of office like the *missi dominici* of Charlemagne, or (*b*) the feudal owner of the *dominium*, *i.e.*, the demesne in fee of the lands. In official documents, *v.g.*, in many letters in Theiner, England is referred to as the *kingdom* (regnum), and Hibernia as the *lands* (terra) or *dominium* of the *dominus* or lord. It was probably by the same draughtsman that the celebrated letter in 1157 of Adrian IV. to Frederick Barbarossa and the German

[19] "Aeċ ı ꝼeꞃna ıaꞃ mbuaıo onʒċa oeuꞃ aċhꞃiġı." The Book of Leinster is not mentioned in the List of Books from which the Four Masters composed the Annals.

[20] *Ir. Eccl. Rec.*, 1872, Nov.; Burke, Rev. T., *Lectures*, 225; Morris, Rev. W., *Ireland and St. Patrick*, 122.

Bishops was composed. Frederick held a diet of great magnificence at Besançon in that year. Hither went Cardinal Roland, afterwards Alexander III., then Chancellor to Adrian IV., with another envoy, to present the letter. They were received in public audience. Roland read the letter which referred to the *beneficia* conferred by the Pope on Frederick who had been recently crowned; the word had two meanings (1) benefits (2) a technical meaning in feudal usage, *i.e.*, *fiefs*, The German Magnates understood it in the feudal sense and when the Cardinal pronounced it they sprang to their feet and half drew their swords, One of them, Otho, faced Roland and demanded whether he meant that Frederick held his empire as a fief of Adrian. Undaunted Roland answered. "And of whom then does he hold it if not of our Lord the Pope?" Otho then drew his sword and was about to cut him down, when Frederick interposed. The Pope afterwards explained that *beneficium* meant *bene factum*, a good deed or benefit, and that it was not used in the feudal sense, in the letter.[21]

The three letters of Alexander III in the *Liber Scacarii* correspond in substance with the *Laudabiliter*. They are addressed to Henry II. the bishops, and the kings and chieftains of Ireland respectively, and are dated September 20th, 1172. The letter addressed to Henry congratulates him on his success. It contains the notable words "the Church of Rome has a different *jus* in the case of islands from what it has in the case of a continent."[22]

Urban II, in 1091 in the grant already referred to, deduced the right of Constantine to give away islands from the strange principle that all islands were legally *juris publici*, and, therefore, State domains, "and so when they receive the Christian faith they would come under both rights" the *jus spirituale* and *jus proprium*. He uses the words, not *in jus*, but *in jus proprium condonatae*. So too, Innocent III, in 1213 in his letter of acceptance, states that

[21] The words were "si majora *beneficia* excellentia tua de manu nostra suscepisset." Adrian's explanation is "Hoc enim nomen (*i.e.*, beneficium) ex *bono* et *facto* est editum, et dicitur *beneficium* apud nos, non *feudum* sed *bonum factum*." Migne 188, p. 1526 (1st letter), Migne 188, p. 1555 (2nd letter).

[22] Romana ecclesia aliud jus habet in insula quam in terra magna et continua." The three letters of Alexander III. are given in Migne 200, p. 113.

John with the consent of the English barons had given over his realm to the Pope "in jus et proprietatem"—Rymer I. 117.

There is no reference to the Donation of Adrian in any of these letters, nor should we expect to find any if we assume that Adrian's Donation had been previously confirmed, as we suggest it had been.

There is also a letter of Adrian IV. written about the beginning of 1159 to Louis VII, of France, the language of which corresponds very closely in parts with the *Laudabiliter*, and it has been suggested that any draughtsman having that letter before him might concoct the *Laudabiliter*. We very much doubt this, and we think that it is very much more probable that it was composed by the person who wrote the letter to Louis VII. and the letters of Alexander III., and may have been prepared, but not issued, in the lifetime of Adrian IV.[23]

In our judgment there is ample evidence to prove the Donation of Adrian IV. putting aside altogether the *Laudabiliter*, the confirmation of Alexander, and the three letters in the *Liber Scacarii*. Bishop Creighton considered the statement of John of Salisbury alone sufficient and unanswerable. Henry would never have gone to the expense of a military expedition to Ireland without a clear hereditary title from the Pope who claimed to be over-lord of it, and his title founded on the Donation is referred to in official documents and otherwise, century after century.

In the chronicle of Robert of Torigny (+1184-1186) we find an entry that at a council held at Winchester at Michaelmas 1165, the question of conquering Ireland, and giving it to Henry's brother, William, was considered "and because it was not pleasing to the Empress his mother, the expedition was put off for another time." Could there be any reasonable doubt that the deliberation was connected with the receipt of the emerald ring? Henry, who was then only 22, had to reduce his own kingdom to subjection before thinking of

[23] The texts of the letter to Louis VII. and of the *Laudabiliter* are compared in parallel columns in the *Annalecta Juris Pontificii*, 1882. The names of the numerous writers for and against the genuineness of the *Laudabiliter* will be found in Mr. Thatcher's *Studies Concerning Adrian IV.*, Chicago Decem. Pub., Volume IV., First Series. He follows the valuable article of Boichorst in *Mitheilungen der Institut. fur Oesterreich. Geschichte*, 1893, p. 101. He does not refer to the text in the *Book of Leinster*.

foreign conquests, and the excuse was diplomatically correct and probably true.

In the year 1318 (1317 ?) Donald O'Neil "King of Ulster and of all Ireland, the rightful heir by hereditary right, and the kings and magnates and the whole laity" sent to Pope John XXII, a letter of appeal and protest.[24] It is a very long document, we can only present our readers extracts condensed from it.

After stating that there were 136 kings before the coming of St. Patrick and 61 subsequently, who in temporals acknowledged no superior, all of the same stock, without any mixture of foreign blood, who richly endowed the church with landed and other property of great extent and value, of much of which the Church had been "damnably despoiled" by the English, it proceeds,—

And after that the kings aforesaid had had for so long a time by their own efforts energetically defended against the princes and kings of other countries the inheritance granted them by God, always preserving inviolate their native liberty, at length your predecessor, Pope Adrian (an Englishman not so much by origin as by his state in life and affection) in the year of Our Lord 1170 upon the representations false and full of iniquity of Henry, King of England (under whom, and perhaps, through whom St. Thomas of Canterbury in the same year suffered death, as you know, in defence of Justice and the Church), made over *de facto* the lordship of this kingdom of ours in a specific form of words to the same (king), whom rather for the crime aforesaid he ought to have deprived of his own kingdom. Our rights *de jure* were utterly disregarded; his leaning to the English—Ah the grief of it—blinding the vision of the great Pontiff, and thus taking away from us our royal honour without any culpability on our part, and without any reasonable cause he delivered us over to be lacerated by teeth more cruel than those of wild beasts, and those of us who have unhappily escaped half-alive with torn flesh, the teeth of these crafty foxes and ravening wolves have been forced down into the abyss of a lamentable servitude. For ever since that time when the English, on the occasion of the grant aforesaid, and under an outward appearance of holiness and religion, nefariously entered the borders of our kingdom they have been striving with all their might, using all the arts of perfidy to completely exterminate and tear up from the roots our people; mendaciously asserting

[24] Johannes de Fordun *Scotichronicon III.*, 908 (condensed). A brief notice of this letter will be found in the *Continuator of Baronius sub anno* 1317.

The *Scotichronicon* was commenced by John of Fordun in the Mearns and completed to the death of David I., 1153. Before dying he gave his collected materials to Walter Bower, Abbot of Inch Colum, on a little island in the Forth, who continued the *History* to the murder of James I. in 1436.

The years in the text are probably reckoned from the Incarnation, as in the *Annals of Ulster*.

in the depth of their fury that we have no right to any free dwelling-place in Ireland, but that the whole country belongs of right to themselves alone. More than 50,000 have perished in the wars since the coming of Henry, besides those who have died from hunger or in dungeons. Now Henry promised, as is contained in the said Bull, that he would extend the boundaries of the Church, etc. (here follow the words of the *Laudabiliter*). This promise has been violated in every instance. Some cathedral churches have been plundered of a moiety and more of their land; our bishops are seized and imprisoned, yet though suffering these outrages, constantly through slavish timidity they do not bring them before your Holiness. So we shall be silent about them. Instead of reforming they have corrupted the Irish by their bad example, and deprived them of their laws (specific cases are here mentioned). Killing an Irishman is not murder, and some of their religious assert that it is no more sin to kill an Irishman than to kill a dog or any other brute animal. And some of their monks affirm that if it should happen to them to kill an Irishman they would not for this refrain from the celebration of Mass for a single day. Accordingly what they preach in words the monks of the Cistercian Order at Granard, in the diocese of Armagh, undoubtedly put shamelessly in practice in deed. And likewise the monks of the same Order at Inch, in the Diocese of Down. For, appearing publicly in arms they attack and slay the Irish, and yet celebrate their Masses nothwithstanding. They (*i.e.*, the Anglo-Normans) affirm that it is lawful for them to take from us by force of arms our lands and property of every kind, not considering this anything to trouble their consciences even at the hour of death. It is those people, who by their crafty, deceitful scheming have alienated us from the kings of England, hindering us, to the great injury of the king and kingdom, from holding the lands rightfully ours *in capite* willingly from them, and sowing between ourselves and these monarchs undying discord in their unbridled lust for our territories. The yearly *denarius* from each house has not, as everyone knows, been paid. We sent forward a letter describing these outrages and abominations aforesaid to the king of England and his Council through the Bishop of Ely, and made a courteous proposal that we should hold our lands immediately from the king *in capite, according to the conditions in the Bull of Adrian a full transcript of which we transmit herewith*; or that he should, with the consent of both parties, divide our lands according to some reasonable plan between us, and thus avoid wholesale bloodshed. We have however, received no answer to this application. Let no man then be surprised if we are determined to save our lives and defend the privileges of our independence against these cruel tyrants and usurpers of our rights. We are ready to prove our statement by the evidence of twelve Bishops and others and have invited Edward Bruce to our aid and assistance.[25]

[25] John XXII. was enthroned September 5, 1316. At Avignon on April 1st, 1317, by authority of Letters Patent of Edward II., dated September 16, 1316, the King's envoys, after stating that they had paid the cess of 1,000 marks

On the 30th May, 1318 the Pope wrote from Avignon, a letter of paternal advice to Henry urging him to redress the grievances complained of, "that so the Irish people following more wholesome counsels may render you the obedience due to their *dominus*, or if, which heaven forbid, they shall be disposed to persist in their foolish rebellion they may convert their cause into a matter of open injustice, while you stand excused before God and man." He enclosed the letter of king Donald O'Neil, and the copy of "the grant which Pope Adrian is said to have made to Henry, that he might be satisfactorily enlightened on the aforesaid grievances and complaints." [26]

By an Act of Parliament, in 1467, after reciting that "as our Holy Father Adrian, Pope of Rome, was possessed of all the sovereignty of Ireland in his demesne as of fee, in right of his Church of Rome, and with the intent that vice should be subdued, had alienated the said land to the king of England for a certain rent, etc., by which grant the said subjects of Ireland owe their allegiance to the king of England as their sovereign lord, as by the said Bull appears," it was enacted "that all Archbishops and Bishops shall

for that year, acknowledged themselves bound to pay on his behalf twenty-four years' arrears of said cess (*i.e.*, one-fourth of 27,000 marks) by four instalments.—*Theiner*, 193. *Secreta*, tom. II., fol. 161. In the *Roll Series*, p. 443, it is inaccurately stated that the envoys were sent to pray the Pope to forego the payment of the arrears; it should be "to excuse the non-payment of them."

On 10th April 1317 a mandate was issued to judges not named to warn brethren of the Mendicant Orders, Rectors, Vicars, and Chaplains who had stirred up the Irish people against the king, and unless they ceased to excommunicate them publicly.—*Theiner*, 194. Papal Letters, *Rolls Series II.*, 435.

[26] Joannes Episcopus etc. Eduardo Regi Angliæ illustri Ecce fili, quasdam recepimus letteras. . . in quorum serie vidimus inter cetera contineri quod cum felicis recordationis Adrianus Papa, predecessor noster sub certis modo et forma distinctis, apertius in apostolicis litteris inde factis clare memorie Henrico regi Angliæ progenitori tuo dominium Yberniæ concessit, ipse rex et successores ipsius regis Angliæ usque ad hæc tempora modum et formam hujusmodi non servantes, quin immo eos transgredientes, indebite diris afflictionibus et gravaminibus inauditis importabilium servitutum oneribus et tyrannidibus inhumanis ipsos eo miserabilius et intolerabilius quo diutius oppresserunt.

Prescriptas litteras missas Cardinalibus antedictis cum *anima* (sic) formam litterarum quæ prædictus Adrianus predecessor noster eidem Henrico regi Angliæ de terra Yberniæ concessisse dicitur continente tuæ magnitudini mittimus presentibus interclusas. Datum Avinione III., Kal. Junii, Pontificatus nostri anno secundo.

Cum anima should, we suggest, read *cum* agnina (pelle) "with a fine (lambskin) parchment." The editor of the *Rolls Series* (Ed. II., A.D. 318) translates, "in a case."

See Theiner *Mon. Hib.*, p. 201. *Rolls Series. Papal Letters II.*, 440.

excommunicate all disobedient Irish subjects, and, if they neglect to do so, they shall forfeit £100." [27]

In 1555, by a consistorial decree followed by a Bull, Paul IV. on the humble supplication of Philip and Mary "erected into a kingdom the island Hibernia, of which from the time that the kings of England obtained the dominium of it through the Apostolic See they had merely called themselves lords (*domini*), without prejudice to the rights of the Holy Roman Church or any other person claiming to have right in it or to it." [28]

The Bull then confers the Royal title and attributes. This did not displace the over-lordship of Rome, if it existed. The Bull was delivered by the English Council to Dr. Carey; and copies of it were circulated through Ireland, as the Irish asserted that the Donation from Adrian was forfeited by Henry VIII. and his son Edward VI., when they renounced the Pope's spiritual and temporal authority. The Donation, it forfeited, was in this way restored to its pristine efficacy. In 1570 the Irish, through the Archbishop of Cashel, had offered or were about to offer the kingship to Philip of Spain. This project was communicated to the Pope by Cardinal Alciato, who wrote to the Archbishop of Cashel, on July 22nd, 1570: "His Holiness was astonished that anything of this kind should be attempted without his authority, since it was easy to remember that the kingdom of Ireland belonged to the dominion of the Church, was held as a fief under it (ad eclesiae ditionem feudi nomine pertinere), and could not, therefore, unless by the Pope, be subjected to any new ruler. And the Pope, that the right of the Church may be preserved as it should be, says, he will not give the letters you ask for the king of Spain (Philip). But if the king were himself to ask for the fief of that kingdom, in my opinion the Pope would not refuse." [29]

The instructions to Rinnuccini, mentioned that Ireland was an ancient possession of the Holy See, and that Henry II. obtained from Adrian IV., himself an Englishman, with a

[27] *Parliament Roll* 7th E. IV. (1467). The oldest Roll now in existence is one of the 5th H. VI. (1426). Hardiman *Stat. of Kilkenny*, p. 3, prints the text of this statute.

[28] *Bullarium I.*, Part V., p. 315; *Baronius* (*Continuator*), Vol. 20, p. 301; *Lingard*, Vol. V., 461.

[29] *Specil. Ossor.*, I., 69. Ed. Moran P. (Cardinal).

liberal hand all that he coveted.[30] We forbear reference to documents of minor importance.

"What is extraordinary," says Edmund Burke, "is that for a very long time, even quite down to the Reformation, and in the most solemn acts, the people of England founded their title wholly on this grant (from Adrian). They called for obedience from the people of Ireland not on principles of subjection, but as mesne lords between them and the Pope." [31]

In conclusion there is, in our judgment, no controverted matter in history on which the weight of evidence inclines more decisively to one side than on this of Adrian's Donation. We have assigned the *Weltpolitik* of Rome as the main motive for this grant. We must not, however, be understood to exclude motives of a spiritual order. Eugenius III., Adrian IV., Alexander III., and St. Bernard were, beyond all doubt, influenced by considerations of the latter kind. The three letters of Alexander in the *Liber Scacarii*, the authenticity of which is not questioned, as well as the *Laudabiliter*, which is written in the same spirit, prove this conclusively. But when the implications contained in these scripts are unfolded, and the statements evolved confronted with the actual facts, it would be wholly inadequate to describe them as merely gross exaggerations.

Rome distracted with internal troubles was misinformed and ill-advised, and the Gael, who deserved a better fate, were delivered into the hands of ruthless and rapacious adventurers.

[30] *Embassy in Ireland.* Annie Hutton (1873), p. xxviii.
[31] *Tracts on the Popery Laws.*

APPENDIX.

LIST OF THE HIGH KINGS OF ERIN.

		Date of Accession. B.C.
1.	Eremon and Eber	1700
2.	Er. Muighne, Luighne and Laighne	1683
3.	Eb. Nuadhat Neacht	1681
4.	Er. Irial Faidh	1680
5.	Er. Ethreal	1670
6.	Eb. Conmael	1650
7.	Er. Tighernmas reigned 77 years. Interregnum of 7 years	1620
8.	Ith. Eocaidh Eadghadhach	1536
9.	Ir. Sobhaerce and Cearmna Finn	1532
10.	Eb. Eocaidh Faebharghlas	1492
11.	Er. Fiacha Labhrainne	1472
12.	Eb. Eocaidh Mumhno	1448
13.	Er. Aengus Olmucadha	1427
14.	Eb. Enna Airgtheach	1409
15.	Er. Roitheachtaigh	1382
16.	Ir. Sedna	1357
17.	Ir. Fiacha Finscothach	1352
18.	Eb. Muinemhon	1332
19.	Eb. Faeldeargdoid	1327
20.	Ir. Ollamh Fodhla	1317
21.	Ir. Finnachta	1277
22.	Ir. Slanoll	1257
23.	Ir. Gedhe Ollghothach	1240
24.	Ir. Fiacha Finnailches	1230
25.	Ir. Bearnghal	1208
26.	Ir. Oilioll	1196
27.	Er. Sirna Saeglach reigned 150 years!	1180
28.	Eb. Roitheachtaigh	1030
29.	Eb. Elim Oilfinshneachta	1023

Note.—Er. = Eremonian, Eb. = Eberean, Ir. = Irian, Ith., Ithian. Joint reigns are reckoned as one. A.M. 3500 is deemed = 1,700 B.C.

	Date of Accession. B.C.
30. Er. Giallchaddh	1022
31. Eb. Art Imleach	1013
32. Er. Nuadhat Finnfail	1001
33. Eb. Breas	951
34. Ith. Eocaedh Apthach	952
35. Ir. Finn	951
36. Eb. Sedna Innarradgh	929
37. Er. Simon Breac	909
38. Eb. Duach Finn	903
39. Er. Muiredeach Bolgrach	893
40. Eb. Enda Dearg	892
41. Eb. Lughaidh Iardonn	880
42. Ir. Sirlamh	871
43. Eb. Eochaidh Uaircheas	855
44. Er. Eocaidh Feadhmuine and Conaing	843
45. Eb. Lughaidh Laimhdhearg	838
46. Er. Conaing	831
47. Eb. Art	811
48. Er. Fiacha Tolgrach	805
49. Eb. Oilioll Finn	795
50. Eb. Eochaidh	784
51. Ir. Airgeatmhar	777
52. Er. Duach Ladhgrach	747
53. Eb. Lughaidh Laighdhe	737
54. Ir. Aedh Ruadh, Dithorba, and Cinnbaeth alternately 70 years	730
55. Ir. Queen Macha Mongruadh	660
56. Eb. Reachtaidh Righdhearg	653
57. Er. Ugaine Mor	633
58. Er. Laeghaire Lorc	593
59. Er. Cobhthach Cael Breagh	591
60. Er. Labhraidh Loingseach	541
61. Er. Melghe Molbhthach	522
62. Eb. Modhcorb	505
63. Er. Aenghus Ollamh	498
64. Er. Irereo	480
65. Eb. Fearcorb	473
66. Er. Coinla Caemh	462
67. Er. Oilioll Caisfhiaclach	442
68. Eb. Adamair	417

	Date of Accession. B.C.
69. Er. Eochaidh Ailtleathan	413
70. Er. Fearghus Fortamhail	395
71. Er. Aenghus Tuirmheach	384
72. Er. Conall Collambrach	325
73. Eb. Nia Sedhamain	319
74. Er. Enna Aighneach	312
75. Er. Crimhthann Cosgrach	292
76. Ir. Rudhraighe...	288
77. Eb. Innatmar	218
78. Ir. Breasal Boidhiobhadh	209
79. Eb. Lughaidh Luaighne	198
80. Ir. Congal Claroineach	183
81. Eb. Duach Dalta Deadhadh	168
82. Ir. Fachtna Fathach	158
83. Er. Eochaidh Feidhleach	142
84. Er. Eochaidh Aireamh	130
85. Er. Ederscel	115
86. Er. Nuadha Neacht	110
87. Er. Conaire Mor	109
88. Er. Lughiedh Sriabh-ndearg	34
89. Er. Conchobhar Abhradhruadh...	8
90. Er. Crimhthann Niadhnaer. Birth of Christ in the eighth year of his reign	7
	A.D.
91. Cairbre Cinnceat	10
92. Er. Fearadhach Finnfeachtnach	15
93. Er. Fiatach Finn	37
94. Er. Fiacha Finnfolaidh	40
95. Ir. Elim	37
96. Er. Tuathal Teachtmhar	76
97. Ir. Mal	107
98. Er. Feidhlimedh Rechtmhar	111
99. Er. Cathaeir Mor	120
100. Er. Conn of the Hundred Battles	123
101. Er. Conaire, son of Mogh-Lamha	158
102. Er. Art Aenfir	166
103. Ith. Lughaidh, *i.e.*, MacCon	196
104. Er. Fearghus Daibhdeadach	226
105. Er. Cormac MacArt	227
106. Er. Eochaidh Gonnat	267

	Date of Accession. A.D.
107. Er. Cairbre Liffeachair	268
108. Ith Fothad	285
109. Er. Fiacha Sraibhtine	286
110. Er. Colla Uais	323
111. Er. Muireadhach Tireach	327
112. Ir. Caelbhadh	357
113. Er. Eochaidh Muighmheadhoin	358
114. Eb. Crimthann	366
115. Er. Niall of the Nine Hostages	379
116. Er. Dathi	405
117. Er. Laeghaire	429
118. Er. Olioll Molt	459
119. Lughaidh MacLaeghaire	479

THE UI NEILL (EREMONIAN).

120. Muircheartach (Eogan)	504
121. Tuathal Maelgarbh (Cairbre)	528
122. Diarmaid (Crimthann)	539
123. Domhnall and Fearghus (Eogan)	559
124. Eochaidh (Eogan) and Baedon	562
125. Ainmire (Conall)	564
126. Baedon (Conall)	567
127. Aedh (Conall)	568
128. Aedh Slaine (Crimthann) and Colman Rimidh (Eogan)	595
129. Aedh Uairidhnach (Eogan)	601
130. Maelcobha (Conall)	608
131. Suibhne Meann (Eogan)	611
132. Domhnall (Conall)	624
133. Conall Cael and Ceallach (Conall)	640
134. Diarmaid and Blathmac (Crimthann)	657
135. Seachnasach (Crimthann)	665
136. Ceannfaeladh (Crimthann)	670
137. Finnachta Fleadach (Crimthann)	674
138. Loingseach (Crimthann)	694
139. Congal (Conall)	702
140. Fearghal (Eogan)	709
141. Fogartach (Crimthann)	719
142. Cinaeth (Crimthann)	720

Note.—Crimthann and Cairbre represent the Southern Ui Neill Eogan, and Conall the Northern Ui Neill.

	Date of Accession. A.D.
143. Flaithbheartach (Conall)	723
144. Aedh Allan (Eogan)	730
145. Domhnall (1st of Clan Coleman) (Crimthann) ...	739
146. Niall Frosach (Eogan)	759
147. Donnchadh (Crimthann)	766
148. Aedh Oirdnidhe (Eogan)	793
149. Conchobar (Crimthann)	798
150. Niall Caille (Eogan)	818
151. Maelseachlainn I. Crimthann)	845
152. Aedh Finnliath (Eogan)	861
153. Flann Sinna (Crimthann)	877
154. Niall Glundubh (Eogan)	916
155. Donnchadh (Crimthann)	918
156. Conghalach (Crimthann)	943
157. Domhnall (Eogan)	955
158. Maelseachlainn II. (Crimthann)	979
159. Brian Boru (Eber) ?	1002

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY

ADDENDA.

THEROUANNE.—There was a very old inscription in the Cathedral of Durham. It ran as follows :—"Sanctus Andomarus monachus episcopus." TAVERNENSES.—St. Omer, Monk Bishop of *Taverna, i.e.*, Therouanne. St. Omer was a monk from Luxeuil, and Bishop of Therouanne, about A.D. 637. See Rites of Durham, Ed. Canon Forster, 1903, p. 130, and *supra* p. 150.

ROUND TOWERS.—Gregorovius writes in his Tagebücher [Eng. trans. 1907, p. 140], from Genazzano (13 M. S. E. Tivoli), August 13th, 1861 :—"Explored the mountains as far as Mentorella. The little rock crests of Rocca di Cova and Capronica are very striking. Each has a ruined fortress, a solitary round tower surrounded by a wall. When its defenders could hold out no longer, they retired into the tower, which has no doors. The principal window was entered by means of a ladder."

INDEX

Adamnan
account of the exculpation of Columba at the Synod of Tailtin, 200.
Failbhe tells him he was present when Oswald related how Columba appeared to him before the battle of Heavenfield, 355.

Adrian IV.
grants Ireland to Henry II. at the solicitation of John of Salisbury, 385.
grant not *Laudabiliter* ; form of suggested, 385
motive of grant to be sought in the *Weltpolitik* of the Roman Curia, 386
text of *Laudabiliter* from the "Book of Leinster," and a translation of it, 393
an examination and criticism of the text, 405
subsequent facts referring to, and confirmatory of, the donation, 408

AITHEACH TUATHA
not the Attacotti, 96

AGRICOLA
description of Erin of the Gael in, 37

AIDAN
his mission and preaching, 356
"his course of life different from the slothfulness of our time."

ALEXANDER III.
his letter confirmatory, and three letters in the *Liber Scacarii*, 399, 406

AMBER
found in the North Sea, 32

AMMIANUS MARCELLINUS
describes the invasion of Britain by the Picts, Attacotti, and the Scots, 117
quoted, 111, 113, 131, 139

Angueli Liber
defines the boundaries of the See of Armagh Entry as to Brian Boru refers to, 176

ARBOIS DE JUBAINVILLE
on the "Nasad" of Lug at Lyons, 5
View as to the Battle of Moytura, 26
visits and describes Emmania, 58

ARLETTA
mother of William the Conqueror, probably an Ethnic Celt, 113

ARD RIGH
List of High Kings, 413
how chosen and mode of election, 224
Table showing they were selected by the tribe within the royal stock, 245
Go Freshabhraidh (with gainsaying), 246
history of, after the death of Maelseachlainn II. (1022) 388

Armagh, Book of
description of, 170

ARCHICLOCOS, Bury's view not accepted, 176

ARTHUR, the name Gaelic, 16
buried at Glastonbury, the finding of his remains, the enormous size of his bones, 129

ATTACOTTI
the "Tuatha Cat" of Scotland, referred to by St Jerome in a famous passage, 6

AUSONIUS
describes his *villula*, 135

Avienus
account of Hamilco's expedition, 35

Augustine, St.
Missionary labours in England, 353
estimate of Pelagius, 154

Bards (see Druids,) 205
their "pot of covetousness." Found an advocate in Columba at Drumceat, 262

Bede
description of Erin, 1
describes how the Columban monks kept Easter, 357
how they were expelled from Ripon and the place given to Wilfrid, 370
his letter (724) to Egbert, Archbishop of York—a dark picture of spiritual decadence.

Bernard, St.
writes to Archbishop Theobald, formerly Abbot of Bec, recommending John of Salisbury for immmediate promotion, 282

BORLASE
Dolmens, description of, 9
views as to Battle of Moytura, 24

BORUMA
Legend of the imposition of, 91
on Alba, rejected at Drumceat, 263

BREHON LAW
Not written but transmitted orally, 212
The contents of the Brehon Law Tracts, 213
Provisions regarding education, 215
Judgment as to *eric* in the case of St. Patrick's charioteer, 217
The contents of the Senchus Mor as to tithes, etc., 219

BRIAN BORU
Brian and his brother Mahon retire before the Norsemen into the fastnesses of North Clare and South Galway, 293
The battle of Sulchoit (908) in which the Norsemen were routed, 294
King of Munster on the death of Mahon, (976), 298
Peace of Pulloigé, (999) between him and Maelseachlainn, and battle of Glenmama near Dunlavin, 298
Brian marries, first, the granddaughter of Clereach *ex quo* the the Ui Clerigh; second Dubhcobhtaigh, daughter of Cathal O'Conor, King of Connact; the story of his marriage, thirdly, with Gormlaith, rejected, 299
his struggle to subdue the North, and circuit through it, 303
his title to be Ard Righ not admitted by the North. They did not obey his summons to Clontarf, 304
The Battle of Clontarf in which Brian fell in "the counterblow" of the fight, 305, 306, 307
his burial at Armagh, and an estimate of his character, 308

Brian
the eldest son of Eocaidh Muigmeadhon, ancestor of the Ui Briain of Connact, 109

BOADICCEA OR BOUDICCA
Semble, the same as the gaelic *boadach* or *buadach*, victorious, described and compared with Meve, 43

Bridget, St.
Fire of at Kildare—described by Giraldus, 195, 197

BRIGANTES
between the Humber and the Clyde and in the South East of Erin, 43
should probably be substituted for *Gigantes*, 137

BURGUNDY
geography of, complex, 148

CAMDEN
Displacement of the Gaelic Monks from Glastonbury by Dunstan, 126

Cairbre Cinnceat
rising of the Fir-Volce, 91

CARINNA
mother of Niall of the Nine Hostages, a Saxon, 110

CASSIAN
his life and labours, 145
builds the monastery of St. Victor at Marseilles, 410 (*c*)
Bull of Benedict IX. on its re-dedication, 145
Monastic system described by Ruffi, 146

CATHRAIGE
the *Tuatha Cat* found from Caithness to Inis Cathraige, now Scattery Island, 4, 5

CEARBHALL
of Ossory, probably King of the Norsemen of Dublin from 872 to 888, 277
referred to in the *Land-nama-boc*, 278

CELTS
an intrusive wedge in the centre of France—language of, Semble, spread to tribes north and south of them, 4
supposed to have brought the custom of incineration from the East, 8
in forefront of civilization during the Hallstadt period, 50
took possession of the valleys of the Po, the Danube, the Loire, the Marne, and the Seine; never came to Erin, 51
characteristics of the Celtic or Alpine stock, 421

CHURCH, EARLY
organisation of, 314
The *congabala* (habitations) consisted of (1) a church, *teach mor*, (2) *cuile*, room and kitchen in one, and (3) an *aregal* or embyro round tower, or "fire-house," 315
the *teach na teinidh* in Innismurray, 315
the round towers, 316, 417
the pastoral work of the *Congabala* not done from the monastic centres, 316
the dioceses, territorial not tribal, 317
amounted to about 50, and were reduced to 26 at the Synod of Rathbrasail. The catalogue of the Saints, text and translation, 320, 322.
some observations on the catalogue, 324
the question of the non-canonization of the Irish Saints considered 325
the Bollandist view as to "canonizing in groups" should be re considered, 314
the Irish always added, "whose names were written in Heaven," 325
the Rev. T. Olden's view as to the *Consortia Mulierum*, 328; the Church obedient to Rome not only in doctrine but in discipline 363

CHRISTIANITY
in Erin, before St. Patrick, 207

CIMBAETH, AEDH RUADH, AND DITHORBA
reigns of, 61

COLEMAN, BISHOP
collects his treasures, *i.e.*, the bones of Aidan, and tramps to Iona, 279

COLLAS, THE THREE
invade Ulster, burn Emmania, and drive the Clanna Rury into *Ulidia*, and make the "Danes Cast."

COLUMBA, ST.
not the cause of the battle of Cuildreimhne and two other battles 258,
the correct translation of *ro la ind eirbe n druadh dar a cend* (note), 259
exculpated at the Synod of Tailten, as stated by Adamnan, 263
acts as a peacemaker at the convention of Drumceat, 575, 262
the story of his copying of the Psalter of St. Finnen furtively, and the award of Diarmaid, 264
he sails to Alba and takes possession of Iona, some details, 349
founds twenty-one "houses" among the Picts and thirty-two among the Scots of Alba, 350.
he appears to Oswald before the battle of Heavenfield and bids him, "Be of good cheer and play the man, you shall return victorious," 355

COLUMBANUS + 615
Letters to Gregory and Boniface; seeks guidance from the Pope (1) on the Paschal question; (2) on holding communion with (*a*) Simoniacal bishops; (*b*) those who had been promoted to be bishops after violating the rule as to celibacy whilst deacons, 364
the bishops intercept his letters, and accuse him of keeping Easter with the Jews, 365
enumeration of Columban foundations from Luxeuil, 365
"Columbanus sowed; Benedict reaped," 366
The *Condominium* established in Columban houses, 366

COLUMBAN MONKS
the teaching of the nations by, 345
what Columba and his disciples at Iona were like, their foundations in Scotland, 349
their labours in Germany, summarised by a German priest, 350
the evangelization of England mainly due to them, 353

CONN OF THE HUNDRED BATTLES
defeats Cathaoir Mor, 123, A.D., 93
table of his descendants, 95

CONSTANTINE
Donation of a forgery, 380
the famous "island clause" textually, 381

CORMAC MAC ART
his "teaching of a king," 98

CORMAC MAC CUILLENAIN
bishop of Cashel and king of Munster, killed at the battle of Belach Mughna, near Carlow (908), 282

COROTICUS
epistle to, not genuine, excluded by the Early Church, 166, 170
CRIMTHANN
statement that he was poisoned by his sister, Mong Finn, discussed, 114
foreign conquests of, 119
CRIMTHANN NIA NAIR
his poem, 98
CROM CRUAICH or CROM DUBH
idol of at Magh Slecht, 29
like the idol of Moloch at Carthage, 31
CUCHULAINN
derivation of name (note), 73
CUELLAR
extract from letter to Philip II. of Spain (Oct., 4, 1589) describing habits and mode of life of the Irish, 344
DA DERGA
hostel of, and the *togail* or destruction of, the subject of a spirited poem, "Conary," by Ferguson, 87
DATHI
succeeds Niall, and marches to the Alps (Cevennes) to avenge his death, 117
DAVIS, SIR J.
disposed at first to make freeholders, 230
letter to Salisbury, describing the state of Fermanagh, 1616, 232
O'Brislan's Roll of duties due to Maguire, 234
obtains *resolution* of judges erroneously, describing the Irish tenure as Gavelkind, 237
Chichester's Proclamation of Amnesty, 1604, 231
Gavelkind unknown in Ireland until the Penal Laws, 236
Tanistry, case of considered, 238
letter to Salisbury, Nov., 11, 1606, "the Chief Justice and I now find the occupiers are freeholders," 239
his overtures that these inferior freeholds are vested in the Crown, and that informations of intrusion should be preferred, 240
letter to Salisbury, Sept., 24, 1610, 231
"I held the occupiers were not freeholders, but had only a scrambling or transitory possession," 244
policy of confiscation substituted for that of making freeholders, 241
large grants of confiscated lands to Chichester and Davis, 243
massacre of 1641, the outcome of his chicanery, 243
DEARBHFORGAIL
44 years of age in 1152, the year of the supposed elopement, 312
the evidence as to sifted, 313
died near Mellifont in her 85th year (1193), 313

DEDANNAN
Tuatha Dedannan, not mythological beings, 27

DEIRDRE
sorrowful tale of, 66
her farewell to Alba, 68

DESJARDINS, M.
gives the variants of Taruanna, 150

DIODORUS SICULUS
quotation from, describing the idol worship of Moloch at Carthage, 31

DOLMENS
building of in Erin and abroad, 7, 8
distribution of, and Borlase's view, 10

Dowden, J., Bishop,
his view as to the form of the Gaelic tonsure, sustained, 209

DRUIDS
word connected with *dru*, a tree, 200
magic trees in Erin, the mountain ash, the hazel, the yew, and the blackthorn, 200
draoidheact meant wizardry; the Gaelic druids wizards not priests
references to by Cicero, Timagenes and Ammianus, 201
Caesar's account; what he says of the German true of the Gael, 203
no human sacrifices in Erin as in Gaul, 203
no evidence that Druidism passed from Britain to Gaul, 203

DUNLANG
the massacre of the maidens at Tara, 92

EASTER
some necessary details about the Paschal controversy, 358
Easter day defined, 360
the method of computing Easter explained (note), 360
the celebration of Easter on the 14th moon, being Sunday, instead of waiting until the following Sunday was the Gaelic use, 360
The only difference that could arise from this was that the Gaelic Easter might be the Roman Palm Sunday once or twice in a century, 361
charged with keeping Easter with the Jews, *i.e*, the Quartodeciman heresy, 361-2

EARLS, THE
causes of the flight of, 243
10,000 pounds reward to the man who should kill the Earl of Tyrone and escape, 241
"Services of this kind (*i.e.*, assassination) unto princes were commonly most obligatory when done without their knowledge." Sir H. Wotton, Ambassador at Venice, 243

ELOI, ST. (Eligius) 588-659, A.D.
founds Solignac in the *suburbium* of Limoges—way of life at Luxeuil to be followed. Rules of Columba and Benedict to be observed, 187
enumeration of heathenish practices like those in Erin, 188

ERIN-ERIU
derivation of the name, 1
political divisions of, at various times, generally fivefold, 62
description of by Bede and others
situated between Britain and Spain (Tacitus) 36
Paleololithic man did not come to, 2
Neolithic inhabitants of came from Southern France, and built the Dolmens, 3
The ethnic Celts of Central France never came to; legends as to first four "occupations" (Gabala) of, 14-38
The fifth occupation was by the Gael, 4-39
Chronology of our texts and of Sacred Annals (popular view) tables of, 20
At the coming of St. Patrick the formation of a strong central government seemed probable, 246
the population then conjectured to be 850,000, 246

EUROPEAN
Racial Table, 21-44

FERDOMNACH
the "Book of Armagh" in his handwriting, 170

FIACC'S HYMN
Statement as to birth place of St. Patrick, 149

Fiachra
second son of Eocaid Muighmheadon, ancestor of the Ui Briain of Connact, 109

FINN MAC CUMHAIL
the story of his parentage, 99
his marriage with Graine, 100
the Fianna of Erin, 101

FIRBIS, MAC
his observations on race characteristics, 44

FIRE, THE CELESTIAL
Production of—the *tene eigen*, *i.e.*, forced fire in Erin, 191
the fire of St. Bridget, 195

Flann
of the monastery, his synchronisms, 16

Fodla Ollamh, 57

Freppel, C. E., bishop of Angers; his canons of sound criticism, 143

GAEL
the coming of, 39
first arrivals of, said to have come from the North of Spain, 49
pedigrees of, traced to the three sons of *Golamh* (the soldier) or to his nephew, Ith, 41, 96
how placed on the land in B.C. 750, 51
not ethnic Celts, but belong to the Nordic race, fulfil all the conditions laid down by Deniker, 44, 48
Regnal years of the kings of the four lines, 52
description of their conquests in Wales, etc, 117
religion of, before the reception of the Faith, the religion of the Celestial Fire, 185
European racial types, 42
Cephalic indexes and height, etc, 47, 48

Gall-Gael
The sea-divided Gael or foreigners resident in Erin, 272

GAELIC OATH
oldest forms of, 189

Gasquet, Abbot
describes the Columban rule as one of great severity, and inferior in practical sense to the Benedictine, 187

Germanus
Bishop of Auxerre, 147
and Lupus, mission to Wales against Pelagians, 156

Glastonbury of the Gael,
position of described, 123
name derived from Gaelic "*inis glais duinn*,"—island of the brown river, 122
The *vetusta ecclesia* there a Church of St. Patrick, and so described in the Charters of Ina and Baldrid, 124
an island called Little Erin (Beg Eriu) with a chapel of St. Bridget on it there, 125
Columban monks there displaced for Benedictines—Camden's account of, 126
the finding of Arthur's remains there, enormous size of his bones, 121

GUINEVERE
the wife of Arthur (? Finnabhair), finding of her remains

GOLL MAC MORNA
the head of the Firvolcic Fianna in Connact, 102

GRAVES, BISHOP
service, in fixing the date of the "Book of Armagh," 171

HALLSTADT
the capital of Celtic civilization during the Hallstadt period, 850-600 B.C., 50

HALM
amendment of passage in Agricola, suggested by, 37

HAVERFIELD
succinct account by, in Poole's Historical Atlas, agrees with article in *Edinburgh Review* as to the duration of the Roman occupation of Southern Scotland, 151

HERICUS
states that St. Patrick studied under Germanus, 14(

HOGAN, E.
the Irish wolf-dog, 139
the Irish people, their height, form, and strength, 47

Honoratus, St.
founded monastery at Lerins, now St. Honorat, 410 A.D., became Metropolitan of Arles and died 428 A.D., 147

ITALIA
meaning of an official language after Diocletian, 141

JEROME, ST.
refers to Attacotti in a famous passage, 6
describes the irruption of the barbarians into Gaul, in 406 A.D., 131
refers to Pelagius, 154

JOCELYN
a French Cistercian from Furness, his falsifications of tradition, 183

LAOGHAIRE
tells St. Patrick that Niall did not permit him to believe, 207
his conversion, 208

LIA FAIL
the stone of destiny, 252
removed from Tara to Scotland, and now in Westminster Abbey, 256

MAGH RATH (Moira)
battle of (637), 167

MAGH SLECHT
worship of Crom Cruaich, a Semitic cult there, 29

MAELSEACHLAINN II. + 1022, defeats Norsemen at Tara, (980), 296
proclamation of the famous rising, 296
his doings for the first 14 years of his reign, applies in vain to the Northern Ui Neil to assist him against Brian, and then submits, 301
not guilty of treachery at Clontarf, 307
resumes Ardrighship after Clontarf, 310
defeat of Norse at, had no political result of immediate importance, extracts to prove this, 310

MATILDA, Countess of Tuscany
Second *Cartula* of donation by act *inter vivos*, not a will, made at Canossa in 1102, 384
her first *Cartula* destroyed during scenes of anarchy in Rome in 11th and 12th centuries (note), 384

Medbh (Meve)
queen of Connact, contemporary with Cleopatra the original, semble, of Spenser's Queen Mab, 64
invasion of Ulster by, 75

MEYER, KUNO
his translation of the poems on Magh Slecht, 95

MONKS
early history of monasticism and dates of the foundations of principal monasteries, 330
testimony of Cassian as to the discipline at Tabenna, 333
testimony of Sozomen, a lawyer, that it was the monks who kept the people free from the Arian heresy, 334
observations on monastic rules, requisites of an adequate and comprehensive rule, 334
St. Basil's rule unrivalled for richness, variety and culture, and was used by St. Columba, 335
St. Basil's rule compared with St. Benedict's, 336
the Benedictine use as to the dedication of boys under age compared with the Gaelic use and that of St. Basil, 338
legal difficulties in the way of an open profession of a vow of *casitas*, and the subjection of the monasteries to central control, 339
the imperial government made regulations concerning the monasteries, 340
the "use of Lerins" in the rule of Cæsarius brought to Erin, 341
the ascetical writings of Columbanus, 342
the rule as to food prescribing only one meal at sundown the same as the usage in secular life, 343
the "use" as regards food at Iona according to Adamnan, 344

MORINI—"furthest of men," 132
history of, by Malbrancq, 157

MUIGHMHEADON, EOCAID (Mweevaeon),
king of Connact and afterwards Ardrigh, 109
married Mong Finn, sixth in descent from Olioll Olum, 109
died at Tara and was succeeded by Mong Finn's brother, Crimthann, 113

MUIR N'ICHT
Meaning of "icht": meant the supposed channel between Erin and France, 119

MUIRCHERTACH of the Leather Cloaks
his circuit of Erin, described by Cormacan Eigeas (+948), 284
slain in a battle near Ardee, (948), 286

MUIRCU
wrote his selections under the direction of Aedh, bishop of Sletty, 173
the author's, and Todd's and Barry's, translations of his Preface, 174
his story of the saint carrying the fawn, 183

Northmen
invasion of divisible into two periods, 268
details as to first period, (795-845,) 269, 273
story as to the sovereignty of Turgesius, unsupported by evidence, 271
details as to second period, (845-1014,) 273
Dubhgall cannot mean people of the dark type, 273
nature and extent of their occupation, 274
Ardrigh, during time of, exercised his sovereign rights as usual, 275

NIALL GLUNDUBH
led the Northern and Southern Ui Neil to the aid of the men of Leinster and Munster, but was defeated at the battle of Kilmashogue, near Rathfarnham (917), by the Northmen, 282

NIALL OF THE NINE HOSTAGES,
the fifth son of Eocaid Muighmheadon and Carinna, a Saxon, born out of wedlock, 110
description of, 45
became Ardrigh, with the assent of his half-brothers, 115
the slaying of Niall in France, 116

NOINDEN ULAD
the meaning of, 77

NORTHMEN
the most serious part of the raidings by, was the taking of captives, 289
learning and literature flourish during the 9th and 10th centuries. 289
their position in the latter half of the 10th century, 290
bardic account of in the "War of the Gael with the Gaill," considered, 292

O'HANLON, CANON
places Magh Slecht near Feenagh, in Leitrim, 29

O'SULLIVAN, PHILIP
says voyage from Kinsale to France took scarcely more than two days, and to Spain three days, 139

OISIN
commands the Clanna Baoisgne at the battle of Gabhra, near the Hill of Skreen (284 A.D.), Caoilte and he said to have been the sole survivors on his side, 106

OTWAY, CÆSAR
describes how a storm drove great waves over Tory Island, 17.

PALLADIUS
the first bishop sent to the Gael, Patrick the first bishop sent for them, 156

PATRICIAN DOCUMENTS
in the "Book of Armagh," what they are, 173
the collections in the "Book of Armagh" to be preferred to those of a later date, 181

PATRICK, St.
the coming of, 131
Patrician dates of birth, death, suggested (note), 131
(his birthplace was in a rural district (*vicus*), belonging to the *civitas* of *Taruanna*, now Therouanne in France).
Taruanna, derived from *tor*, *abhann* (pronounced *ouann*), the fenced town of the river (Lys), and equates with Nem-thor (note), 133
Teruenna, *Taverna*, Teruenta, variants of *Tabernia*, 150, 417
his capture, slavery with Milchu, and escape to Foclut—The route taken (note), 138
his journey through the three Gauls into the province and the islands, 140
makes his first theological studies at Lerins, now St. Honorat, 146-178
Studies next under St. Germanus, 148
his call to be the apostle of Erin, 152
his sojourn with the Britons, 153
suggested position of the Britons,
ordained by Pope Celestine, 148
Bury's view not adopted (note). 175
was the unnamed bishop referred to by Prosper of Acquitaine, 160
Adlatus bishop of the Morini, Malbrancq's history, 160
why the Confession does not refer to the Roman mission, 162
the saint's account of his labours in Ireland, 164
Legends and traditions respecting, 170
The Books (Libri) or Epistles of the saint, 166
The Epistle to Coroticus not genuine, and its rejection by the early Church, 168
Bury's view that it was omitted from the "Book of Armagh" because the Scribe "scamped his work" not adopted, (note) 167
died on the 17th March, 493, 131, 165, 179,
absurd charge, that he stole several relics at Rome, and that he stole them with the connivance of the Pope considered, 181
Zimmer's untruthful statement that the saint admitted he had committed adultery in his 16th year exposed, 181

PELAGIUS
the errors of his followers, 154
Semi Pelagians, 155
Some views of, probably reached Erin, 211

POLYBIUS
quoted for old-old saying. "Fortune only lends her favours to Nations," 128

PHŒNICIANS
went to the North Sea for amber, but did not enter the Baltic Sea, 33
took tin from the Cassiterides, which lay to the north of Gallicia in Spain, 33
Hamilco, the Carthagenian, sails to Erin; account of by Avienus, 35
from them Marianus and Ptolemy derived their knowledge of Erin, 36

POTHIER, E.
gives the route of the ethnic Celts from the East, 8

PROSPER OF ACQUITAINE.
quotation from "*De Providentia*," ascribed to him, 141
from his chronicle, 154
from the *Contra Collatorem*, the Bishop therein referred to was St. Patrick, 161

Red Branch Knights
the standard of a yellow lion on a ground of green satin, 267

ROUND TOWERS
origin of from firehouse of Pagans, continued in the *aregal* of St Patrick, 316, 417

Rudraidh the Great
ancestor of the Clanna Rury, 68

Salisbury, John of
strong letter from St. Bernard, recommending him for immediate promotion, to Theobald, Archbishop of Canterbury, formerly Abbot of Bec, 382
states in the *Metalogicus* "at my solicitation he, *i.e.*, Pope Adrian IV., Hibernia to Henry II. granted" 382
the letter of investiture then mentioned by him not the famous *Laudabiliter*, 285

SOLDI, M. EMILE
seeks in "La Langue Sacrèe" to solve the mystery of the cup markings, 7
these a prayer for resurrection, in the Cosmoglyphic language, 12

TACITUS
text of relating to Hibernia from the Toletan MS., 37

TAIN BO CUAILNGE
meaning of the words, 74
analysis of legends regarding, 74
Senchan Torpeist assembled the bards to recover text, and St. Kieran wrote it down from the lips of Fergus MacRoy, 79
the fight with Ferdiad, the most famous episode in the *Tain*, extracts *from it in translation*, 80

TARA
suggested derivation of the word, 52
position of, 247
desertion of, not caused by the curse of St. Ruadhan, 265

TIGHERNMAS
reign of; dies with three-fourths of the men of Erin of the plague, at Magh Slecht, 55
The story may well be doubted, 56

TIGHERNACH
Annals of; *monumenta innocerta*; meaning of: not uncertain but unsettled, 59

TIRECHAN
the text a piece of literary joinery, 176

TONSURE
Gaelic form of, 209

TRIBAL CUSTOMS
in Wales and Erin, 220
the Four Hearths, 221
the *Eric* fine, 223
the Honour Price List, 225
the tribal occupier and Sir J. Davis, 226
occupation compared with German, 227
the "taking of stock," indicating tenure, 229
the ownership of the land was in the tribe, 229
policy of Henry VIII. to "settle" the land and make "freeholders," 230

Ua Cannanain Ruadhri
slain in the "counterblow" of the battle of Muine Brocain, in Meath, in which he defeated the foreigners, with the loss of 6,000 (948), 286

UI CLERIGH
The chief of the Four Masters gives the computations of the Septuagint, 20
expulsion of, from Donegal, during the Ulster confiscations, and settlement of at Foile Clerigh (Clery's Rock) on the borders of Limerick (note),
two of the kindred on the Grand Jury who found true bills against the Earls (note), 111

WILFRID, ST.

his birth and life, by Eddius, 367
his education at Lindisfarne, 367
his stay at Lyons. Delphinus, then Archbishop there, offered him his niece to wife.
returns to England after the death of Delphinus, 367
the Paschal Cycle of Dionysius and the bogus canon, 368
expulsion of the Columban monks from Ripon, 369
is ordained priest by Agilbert, a transitory bishop, against the Canon law, 363
the Synod at Whitby (664) got up by Wilfrid's zeal, assisted by Agilbert, 371
the accounts given by Eddius, a contemporary official record of the Benedictine Order, adopted as trustworthy, 372
the strictures of Dr. M'Carthy, P.P., on Wilfrid, 374
after the Synod goes to France to be consecrated, and is received with triumphal honours by the French bishops, 375
baptism by compulsion, and the story of the boy carried off from his parents, 375
Bishop Chad reordained through all the ecclesiastical orders, 376
rules the Diocese of Northumbria from 668 to 678, 377
Etheldreda, the wife of King Egfrid, receives the veil from Wilfrid, and he receives from her lands at Hexham, 12 miles long and 6 miles broad, 377
after her profession as a religious, Egfrid marries again in her lifetime, 377
his quarrel with Ermenburga, Egfrid's second wife; his expulsion and appeal to Rome, which was in the main successful, 378
at the Synod on Widd near Ripon, (705) allowed to retain the small See of Hexham and the Abbey of Ripon, 378
his distribution by will of his gold and his silver and his precious stones, 378
his death (700), and his epitaph which refers to the bogus canon, 378

VICTOR

confused with Victoricus, the Apostle of the Marini, 153

WILLIAM THE CONQUEROR

without denying the overlordship of the Pope, refuses to take the feudal oath (fidelitatem), 386

WINDISCH, E.

his splendid edition of the *Tain* referred to (note), 74

ZIMMER

his omission in reference to the name Arthur noticed (note), 16
his extraordinary statement about St. Patrick, 181
his views hasty and ill-considered on the Pelagian question, 211

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